

# REFLECTIONS

ON

Mr. VARILLAS's

# HISTORY

OF

The Revolutions that have happened in *Europe* in Matters of Religion.

*And more particularly on his Ninth Book that relates to England.*

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By G. BURNET, D.D.



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LONDON,

Printed in the Year, 1689.

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Of the Revolutions that have happened in *Europe* in matters of Religion; and more particularly on his Ninth Book that relates to *England*.

**M**R. *Varillas* has within a few Years given the World so many Books of History, and these have been so much read and so well received, that it seems he thinks he is now so far possessed of the esteem of the Age, that he may venture to impose upon it the falsest coyn that can be struck.

not doubting but that the name *Varillas* stamp'd upon it will make it pass current, and this being a time in which some have thought that they might do whatsoever they pleased against those of the Religion, he it seems thinks he may likewise say whatsoever he pleased against them, that so there may be a due proportion between the injuries that he does them with his Pen, and those that others make them feel with severer Tools, and perhaps he thought the severities that are now exercised upon them, are so contrary to that tenderness with which the Human Nature, not to say the Christian Religion, is apt to inspire all that are not transported with such violent Passions that they drown the Motions of our Bowels towards the miserable, that nothing could divert the World from those merciful Inclinations but the dressing up the first beginnings of the Reformation in such odious representations as might possess the Age with so much fury against them, that none of the miseries that they suffer, might create the least Compassion for them.

It is true, Princes have their Prerogatives with which they take great Liberties as their several passions are excited and dextrously managed, the desire of glory mixing with a heat of blood, at one time can produce a War, as terrible in its consequences, as it was unjustifiable in its first beginnings, and the same ambition mixing with a superstitious disposition of mind, and working upon colder blood, can at another time produce a

violation of Edicts that have been solemnly sworn to, and often confirmed, and accompany that with a sequel of Severities, that are more easily lamented than expressed; yet an humble regard to the sublime Character of a Crown'd Head lays a restraint on those Groans, which we would rather stifle than give them their full scope, lest the language of our Sorrows look like an accusing of those, whom, after all that our Brethren have suffered at their hands, we would still force our selves to reverence, and therefore we chuse rather to support our grief, than to vent it at their cost. But small Scriblers, who have a set price upon their Pens, and sacrifice our Reputation, that they may merit a pension at the hands of the chief Instruments of our Brethrens sufferings, are not to look for such respect: he that fights against the Laws of War ought to expect no quarter when he is taken.

A Historian that favours his own side, is to be forgiven, though he puts a little too much life in his colours, when he sets out the best sides of his party, and the worst of those from whom he differs: and if he but slightly touches the failings of his Friends, and severely aggravates those of the other side, though in this he departs from the laws of an exact Historian, yet this bias is so natural, that if it lessens the credit of the Writer, yet it does not blacken him, but if he has no regard either to truth or decency, if he gives his imagination a full scope to invent, and his pen all the

liberties of foul language, he ought not to think it strange, if others take some pains to expose him to the World. And though their Conscience and Religion obliges them to take other measures with relation to Truth, and their Breeding engages them to a strict modesty of Style, yet if the things that are said are as severe as they are true, and as wounding as they may appear soft, it is nothing but what a Zeal for Truth, and an Indignation at so much ill-managed injustice draws from them.

It is not to be denied that Mr. *Varillas* has an art of Writing that is entertaining, he pretends to discover many Secrets, to give pictures of Men to the life, and to interweave the Histories that he relates with a Thread of Politicks that is very agreeable, only this appears to be overdone, and those who have had much practise in Human Affairs, see that the conduct of the World is not so steady and so regular a thing as he loves to represent it, unlookt for Accidents, the Caprices of some Tempers, the Secrets of Ambours and Jealousies, with other particular passions are the true sources of almost all that is transacted in the World; even Interest it self does not always govern Mankind, but Humour and Passion have their turns, and oftentimes the largest share in human affairs. So that I ever thought that his Books had too much of the air of a Romance, and seemed too fine to be true. He does indeed now and then, to maintain his Reputation in his Reader's mind, vouch  
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some Letter or Narrative, but he neither tells whether it is in Print, or in Manuscript, or where he had it, and where others may find it: so this way of Citation looked suspicious, yet I could not easily take up such hard thoughts of him as to imagine, that all this was his own Invention, but being in *Paris* last Summer, I had the good fortune to become acquainted with some men of great probity, and that had particularly applied themselves to examine the History of *France* with great exactness; they were of the Church of *Rome*, and seemed to have no other dislike at *Mr. Varillas*, but that which was occasioned by the liberty, that he had given himself, to write his own Imaginations for true Histories, they assured me there was no regard to be had to any thing that he writ, that he had gathered together many little stories which he knit together as he pleased, and that without any good Authority: and they told me that the greatest number of the pieces he cited were to be found no where but in his own fancy. In a word, they spoke of all his Books with a sharpness of stile, and a degree of contempt, that I will not repeat lest I seem to come too near his forms of speech, which are the worst Patterns that one can follow.

I found he was generally so much decried in *Paris*, that he has reason to say in his Preface, *that when the Archbishop of Paris thought on him, all the World had abandoned him*, for I did not find any Man under a more universal Contempt than he was, and the esteem in which his Works were held

held in Foreign Parts far beyond what was payed them in *France*, was imputed to his Method of Writing, that wants none of the beauties of History except that of Truth, and to the Ignorance in which Strangers live as to the Particulars of their History. It is true, at last he has found a Patron and a Pension, and now he has given us an Essay of his Merits: but if this Work is examined severely, he will very probably soon lose his appointments, since mercenary Pens are seldom payed longer than they can be useful. Here one finds so much occasion for censure, that whereas in other Books one must run up and down to find matter for a Critical Judgment, here it occurs so copiously, that a Man must take care not to surfeit his Reader with too much of it; and therefore must choose out the more remarkable Errors, and there are even so many of these, that it is to be feared that the World will not think him nor his Writings worth the time and the pains that must be bestowed on them.

Mr. Maimbourg has set a Pattern to the World, that tho' few will care to imitate, yet it has taken so much with the present Age, that it is no light indication of its degeneracy, when such Books are so much read and sold, in which the Writer seems to have so broken loose from all the common measures either of honesty or shame, that one would wonder of what composition he were made, if they did not know that he has lived fifty years in the Jesuit Order: for as he has

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no regard to truth, or likelihood in what he writes, so he seems to be proof against the evidentest discoveries of his Prevarications that are possible; and when they are laid open in a manner capable of making any man besides himself to blush, he neither has the conscience to confess his errors, nor the sense of honour to justify himself: but he finds out new matter to write on, and a new stock of *Champaigne* wine, as I have been told, that he has oft said, to make his blood boy till he has spoil'd another piece of History; and he thinks a scornful period or two in a Preface is enough to carry off all the shame to which his errors ought to condemn him. He has also the Impudence to dedicate his Books to the King, and the world is still willing to be couzened by him. This trade has succeeded so well with him, that it seems *Mr. Varillas* vies with him in it, and as he has the chaster stile, and the more natural way of misleading his Reader, so he has resolved not to be behind him in a bold quality that I love not to set down by its proper Name. But tho' *Mr. Varillas* has the Art to refine upon the pattern that *Mr. Maimbourg* set him, yet *Mr. Maimbourg* is the Author of the Invention, and therefore he deserves the better Pension.

History is a sort of Trade in which false Coyn and false Weights are more criminal than in other Matters; because the Error may go further and run longer: tho' these Authors colour their Copper too slightly to make it keep

his credit long. If Men think there are degrees of Lying, then certainly those that are the most loudly told, that wound the deepest, that are told with the best grace, and that are transmitted to Posterity under the deceitful colours of Truth, have the blackest Guilt; but some Men have arrived at equal degrees in hardning their Consciences and in steeling their Foreheads, and are without the reach either of inward Remorses or publick Discoveries; so that as *Augustus* fancied there was a Charm in the Pillow of a *Roman*, that died hugely indebted, since without an extraordinary Soporiferous composition he could not fancy how such a Man could sleep securely; so if humane Nature did not often produce some very irregular Individuals, a Man that feels the Authority that Truth and Modesty have over a pure mind, can not easily imagine by what secret others can quite extinguish those Inclinations which he finds are so prevalent in himself. But I will now by *Mr. Varillas's* leave take the Liberty to set before him some of his most conspicuous Errors, and tho' I do not expect much sincerity from himself, yet I hope the world will be juster than he has shewed himself to be.

*Mr. Varillas* begins his History with a view of the Progress of that which he calls Heresie, in a Prophetick stile, setting forth what effects it was to produce, as if he were foretelling what was to fall out, and that for a eleven pages (according to the Impression of *Amsterdam*) this has so little



tle of the Air of a Historian, and is so full of the Figures of a Declaimer, that it looks liker the strain of a heated and angry Fryer, than of a grave and serious Writer of History, who ought to be always in cold blood, and ought not to let the heats of a vitious Rhetorick transport him. But this is so like one of the forced Raptures of some Missionary, that one would think it was writ either by one of them, or for one of them. It is much a safer thing to prophecy concerning matters that are past, than concerning those that are to come, and one is less in danger of committing Errors; yet when heat enters into matters of History, and meets so with vast a deal of Ignorance as is that of Mr. Varillas, no wonder if it carries him into great Errors.

If Mr. Varillas had gathered the History of the last Age out of any Books or out of those Letters that he so often vouches, *Pag. 5.* he could not have said that Edward the Sixth's Tutor or Governour was the Duke of Northumberland, since there is not any one Book writ concerning that Time, that does not shew the contrary. The Duke of Somerset was his Governour, and for the Duke of Northumberland, tho' the last two Years of that Reign, in which that King was past the Age of Tutelage, he bore the chief sway of Affairs, yet he had neither the Character of the King's Tutor or Governour, nor any other whatsoever, but only that of a Privy-Councillour, that was much considered by him,

him, and he at his Death professed that he had been always a Catholick in his Heart, so that his pretending to be of the Reformed Religion to serve his interests, shews that he belongs no more to our Church, than the new forced Converts belong to that of Rome.

In the same page he says that *Mary Queen of Scotland* did by her Bastard-Brother's persuasions marry a single Gentleman, and on the Margent he gives his Name *Henry d' Arley*; this is a new proof how little he knows the Books of the last Age. This *Henry* whom he calls *d' Arley* was *Henry Lord Darley*, eldest Son to the *Earl of Lennox*, which was one of the chief Families of *Scotland*, and a Branch of the Families of the *Stewarts*. It is true, it came off from it before the Crown came into it by Marriage, yet the Grandfather of this *Henry* had matched with one that was very near the Crown, and Cosen-German to *King James the Fourth*, and Sister to *Hamilton Earl of Arran*, this *Lord Darley's* Mother was also Uterine Sister to *King James the Fifth* being the Daughter to the *Queen Dowager of Scotland* that was *King Henry the Eighth's* Sister, who by her second Marriage with the *Earl of Angus (Dowglas)* had *Lady Isabel Dowglas*, who was bred in the Court of *England*, and whom *King Henry the Eighth* Married to the *Earl of Lennox*, that had by her this *Lord Darley*, who as he was the *Queech of Scotland's* Cousin-German, was also the next Heir to the Crown of *England* after her, and might

might have been a dangerous Competitor to her in that Succession, having been born and bred in *England*, so that this Marriage was so far from making her contemptible to her Subjects, that it was considered as the wisest Act of her Life: and Mr. *Varillas* could not imagine any thing more honourable to the Earl of *Munich* Memory, than to make him the Adviser of so wise a choice. It is no wonder to see Mr. *Varillas* make so bold with meaner Persons, when he takes so much Liberty with the Royal Family of *England*, as to stain their descent, for which if the Consideration of the Crowns they wear, did not restrain him, yet the particular regard to the King that now Reigns, ought to have taught him so much respect as not to have ventured to blot his Scutcheon so far as to call his Great Grandfather a single Gentleman, and if he had paid the respect he owed to the Memory of that unfortunate Princess, he had not enlarged so much on her Story, but I know what is due to the Memory of a Crowned Head, even when it is laid in Ashes, and tho' he makes an easie weakness to be her prevailing Character, upon which he would discharge all her Misfortunes, this Picture is so different from the Truth that she was certainly one of the wittiest and high spirited Women that ever lived.

But it seems Mr. *Varillas* has pretended to some Pension from the Crown of *England*, and in revenge for the disappointment he has resolved to debase the Race all he can. Here he affords our  
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Lib. 9.

Pag. 249.

Kings the honour to be descended at least from a Gentleman, tho' one of the ordinarieft sort; but upon another occasion he is not so liberal, for in his History he says that *Henry the Eighth* had Reasons to desire the Marriage of his Bastard-Son the Duke of *Richmond* with his Daughter *Mary*, that were too well known, for Libels had been spread over all *Europe*, reproaching him that his Great Grandfather was not a Gentleman, but that by his credit at Court, and by the vast Riches that he had acquired, he had obtained leave to Marry a Daughter of the Family of the *Plantagenets*, that was then sixteen degrees distant from the Crown, and yet by that means his Grand-child came to Reign; upon which he makes a long Speculation concerning the King's Reflections on that matter, and the Reasons that restrained him from writing on that Subject, as if it were an ordinary thing for Princes to become their own Heralds. He also tells us how he comforted himself by the remembrance of the meanness of *Arbaces* King of *Persia*, that was the Son of a Locksmith, whose Posterity had Reigned so long, and with so much glory, and therefore he says he designed to Marry his Natural Son and his Daughter together. Here is such a mixture of Impertinences, that it is not easie to know at what one is to begin, and if there were but this one period, it is enough to let the World see, how incapable *Mr. Varillas* is of writing History. I shall not in this place shew

shew the Falseness of that imputation on *Henry* the Eighth, that he designed this incestuous Match, for that will come in more properly upon another occasion; only if his Birth was defective on his Great Grandfathers side, it was an odd method for the Correcting of it, to think of adding a new blot, and of bringing a Bastard into the fifth Succession; so the reason is as foolish as the matter of Fact is false, and the Ignorance that Mr. *Varillas* shews here is the more remarkable, because this matter belongs to the most extraordinary Transaction that is in the whole *French* History, in which he pretends to be so Conversant. I need not say any more to prove the *Tudors* to be Gentlemen, but to tell that they are Welshmen, of the Race of the Ancient *Britans*, who do all pretend to the highest Birth of any in the *English* Nation, and do run up their Pedigrees to *Julius Caesar's* time; among whom is the Race of the *Ap. Theodores*, or the Sons of *Theodore*, that by a Corruption of some Ages were called *Tudors*: but knows Mr. *Varillas* so little of the *French* History, as to have forgot that the Daughter of *France*, that was Married to *Henry* the Fifth of *England*, in whose Right both *Henry* the Fifth, and her Son *Henry* the Sixth were Crowned Kings of *France* in *Paris*, did after King *Henry* the Fifth's Death Marry *Owen Tudor*, by whom she had three Sons, the two eldest were made the Earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*, being the Kings Uterine Brothers, and the next Heirs to that

that Title, that he claimed to the Crown of *France*, in the right of his Mother (which I am far from thinking was a good one.) This being the Case, it was no extraordinary thing for a man of the Earl of *Richmond's* Rank to Marry a Lady that was then at such a distance from the Crown, tho' it was only in the sixth and not the sixteenth degree; but I do not insist on this, because it may be only the fault of the Printer, and I will not descend to a doubtful fault, when I have such material ones in my way. I know there are a sort of men that are much more ashamed when their Ignorance is discovered, than when their other Vices are laid open, since degenerate minds are more jealous of the Reputation of their understanding, than of their honour. And as Mr. *Varillas* is very like to be of this Temper, so if a sympathy with Mr. *Maimbourg* has not wrought him up to the like pitch of assurance, such discoveries as these ought to affect him a little; and here a man is apt to lose his Patience, when he finds such a Scribler pretend to defame the Noblest blood in the world.

There is nothing else in the first Prophetick *Rhapsody* that relates to our matters, so I was inclined to go from hence to a more particular enquiry into our *English* Affairs, only the Ignorance that he discovers in the next Paragraph is so surprising that I will bestow a short remark on it. He says, that the *Swissers* were so prevailed on by this Pretext, that



that their separating themselves from the *Roman* Communion was the best expedient to preserve them from falling under the Dominion of the House of *Austria* (tho' it is certain they were then in no sort of fear of that) that the four chief Cantons were seduced in less than a years time; but that the seven little Cantons continued in the belief of their Fathers, and the two middle sized Cantons tollerated equally both the Religions.

One would have thought that a man that had pretended to the name of a Historian, would have at least begun his studies with some small Taste of Cosmography, and would have taken some pains to know the Map; and as the *Switzers* are in the Neighbourhood of *France*, so they have been so long the Allies of that Crown, that the Ignorance of the Importance of the Cantons is a fault in one that pretends to be such an illuminated Historian, that deserves a worse Correction than I think fit to give it. To reckon *Basse* and *Shaffhausen* among the great Cantons, and *Lucern* among the small Cantons, *Solobern* and *Fribourg* being also so considerable that some reckon them with the great Cantons; and to put *Glaris* and *Appuzel* in a Superior order to them that are among the smallest of the least, is such a Complication of Errors that is not easie to imagine how he had the luck to fetch in so many into one period. But this is not all the Ignorance that is in it; for whereas he pretends, that the four Cantons, that received the Reformation did

did it in less than a year, this is so false, that *Zwinglius* having begun to Preach the Reformation in the year 1519. the whole matter was examined in a course of several years, and at last *Zurich* received the Reformation in the year 1525. *Bern* three years after in the year 1528. and *Basle* a year after in the year 1529. as for *Schaffhausen* I must confess my Ignorance, but there was at least ten years interval in this matter; and if *Lucern* is not so much in his favour, because it is the Residence of the Spanish Ambassadour, yet I cannot imagine what has made him degrade *Solebern* into the number of the small Cantons, which is the Residence of the French Ambassadour, and is reckoned by many among the greater. But it is likely that he knew nothing of all this matter, except by Report, and perhaps he thought the period would run smoother to range the Cantons thus, in the great, in the small, and the middle-sized Cantons, and that it would also reflect on the Reformation as a precipitated change to say that four Cantons turned in one year.

But tho' Impertinence is a fault scarce to be named, when one has so many of a more criminal Nature in his way, yet such as are more signal and more advantageously situated for the Reader's eye deserve to be viewed in our passage, with the scorn that they deserve. Mr. *Varillus* begins his Third Book, which opens the Progress of *Luther's* Affairs, with a Preamble of 38. pages, in



in which he sets out the State of *Europe* at that time, so copiously and with so little judgement, that he bestows 14 pages on the Conquests that *Selim* the *Turk* had made, and on his defeat of the *Mamelucks*. This whole tedious Ramble signifies nothing to *Luther's* matters; but in short it was a secret to swell the Volume, and to raise the Price of the Book, as well as it must lessen the Price of the Author, who shews, how little he understands where he ought to place his digressions. What notions does that view of every State of *Europe* give the World, that do any way prepare the Readers mind; for what was to come after, unless it be that Mr. *Varillas* being to present a piece of as arrant Poetry as any that ever possessed the Stage, he thought it necessary to fill it at first with many Actors, and to make a great appearance, tho' none of them were to Act any part in his Play? But since he will needs be writing, tho' he understands not the common Elements, I will take the pains for once to instruct him a little how he ought to have made this introduction, since he it seems was resolved to begin with one.

He ought then to have open'd the State of *Europe* with Relation to Religion and Learning; he ought to have shewed what scandals the Popes and the Court of *Rome* had given, what was the State of the secular Clergy, the Ignorance, Irregularity, and Vices of the Bishops, and Curates; what were the disorders and dissolutions of the

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Monastick Orders, both of those that were endowed, and of the Mendicants. He ought to have shewed in what sort of Studies they employed their Time, and with what sort of Sermons they entertained their People; and to this he ought to have added somewhat of the State of the Universities of *Europe*, and of the Beginnings of Learning that were then arising. He ought to have shewed the different Interests, in which the several Nations of *Europe* were engaged, after the Times of the Councils of *Constance* and *Baste*; and to this he might have added the State of the Courts of *Europe* with Relation to Religion, upon all which he might have found matter for a long, and a much more pertinent Introduction. And to conclude, he ought to have told the Dispositions in which the Peoples Minds were, as to those Matters; and if he would needs make a vain shew of his Faculty of telling of Tales, he might have set out the State of the *Eastern* Churches, after the Treaty at the Council of *Florence*, and of its Effects; of the Ruine of those Churches; and of the Ignorance, as well as Misery to which they were reduced by the Rigor of the *Mahometan* Yoke. It is true, this was not a necessary preliminary to the bringing *Luther* on the Stage, but it had been much less impertinent, than a long Recital of *Sultan Selim's* Conquests.

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But I am carried too far, and hereafter I will confine my self to that which does more immediately belong to me. He begins that part of his Advertisement, that relates to the Affairs of England, with a sort of an Apophthegm worthy of him: He says, it is without comparison more difficult to be exactly true in Matters of Religion, than in other Matters, since in those others, it is only Interest and Passion that make men lye; but in Matters of Religion, Conscience does so entirely conquer all the Powers of the Soul, and reduces them to such a Slavery, that it forces a Man to write that which it dictates, without troubling himself to examine whether it is true or false. Here is such a View of his Notion of Religion, that how false soever this Proposition is in it self, yet it gives us a true Light of his Ideas of Religion. Good God! shall that Principle, which does elevate and illuminate our Natures, be considered as a more powerful Depravation of them, than that which flows either from Interest or Passion? Shall that which is the Image of the God of Truth, and that reduces the Soul to a chaste purity of Spirit, be made the Author of the enslaving of all our Powers, and the emancipating us from all Scrupulosity concerning Truth or Falshood? This perhaps is the Character of Mr. Varillas's Religion, though those that know him well, assure me, that Religion makes very little Impression on him; and if that be true, then his Apophthegm fails in himself, since the Interest of a Pension, and

and the Passion of making himself acceptable in the present time, have as entirely freed him from all regard to Truth, as ever any false Principle of Religion did an enraged Zealot. It is Matter of Horror, to see Religion and Conscience set up as the violentest Corrupters of Truth; but we know out of what School this has sprung, and it seems Mr. *Varillas* has so devoted himself to the Order of the Jesuits, that he is resolved to speak aloud, that which they more prudently think fit to whisper in secret, and indeed if we may Judge of him by this Character that he gives of Religion, we must conclude him to be entirely possessed with it, since never Man seemed to be less solicitous than he is, concerning the Truth or Falshood of the things that he avers.

He accuses me of favouring my own Side too much, and that if I confess some of King *Henry's* Faults, it is only that I may have an occasion to excuse the wretched *Crowner*. This is some Intimation, as if he had read my Book, but I do not believe he has done it: for though I have no great Opinion, either of his Virtue, or of his Understanding; yet I do not think he is so forsaken of common Sense, and of all regard to his Reputation, as to have adventured to have advanced so many notorious Falshoods, if he had seen upon what authentical Grounds I had so exposed them, that I do not think it possible, even for Mr. *Mainburg* himself, after all his fifty years

years Noviciate, to arrive at a Confidence able to maintain them any longer; if he had once read my Book, and what I had writ, was at least so important, that he ought to have weakened the Credit of my History by some more evident Proofs, than that of saying barely, that I was extream partial to my own Side. My Book was so much read, and so favorably spoken of in France these three Years past, that in common Decency he ought to have alledged something to have justified his Censure; but this manner of writing was more easie, as well as more imperious. And if a large Volume of History supported with the most authentick Proofs, that has ever yet perhaps accompanied any Book of that sort, is to be thus shaken off, it is a vain thing to write Books for Men of Mr. Varilla's Temper.

This had been more pertinent, if he had vouched for it a Report which was so spread over Paris, that I had received Advices of it from several hands, of a Design, in which, as was reported, a Clergy-man was engaged that has many excellent Qualities, to which Mr. Varilla seems to be a great Stranger, for he has both great Application, and much sincerity. He has searched with great Exactness that vast Collection of Manuscripts that relate to the last Age, which are laid up in the Kings Library, and he had found so many things relating to England, that he intended to publish a Volume of Memoires

moires relating to our Affairs: he had also said, that in some things he would enlarge himself more copiously than I had done, and that in other things he must differ from me. Matters generally grow bigger by being oft told, so this was given out as a design to write a Counter-History, which should overthrow all the Credit that my Work had got. But upon my coming to *Paris*, I found some sincere Enquirers into Truth, and who by consequence are Men that have no Value for Mr. *Varillas*, who intended to bring us together, that we might in an amicable manner, reason the Matter before some of our common Friends, and both of us seemed to be so well disposed to sacrifice all to Truth, that two Persons of such Eminence, that they can receive no Honour by the most advantageous Characters that I can give them, who were Mr. *Theremin* and Mr. *Auzant*, did procure us a Meeting in the Kings Library, and in their Presence. In which the Abbot, as he discovered a vast Memory, great Exactness, and much Sincerity, so he confessed that he had no Exceptions to the main parts of my History; he mentioned some things of less moment; in all which, I gave not only our two learned Arbitres, but even himself full Satisfaction, so that I quickly perceived I had to do with a Man of Honour. He insisted most on the Judgment of the *Sorbonne* against King *Henry's* Marriage, which is not in their Registers. But I was certainly informed by a Doctor of the

*Sorbonne*,



*Sorbonne*, that their Registers are extremely defective, and that many of their Books are lost. He alledged a Letter to King *Henry*, that he had seen, telling him, that it was to be feared that he might be displeased with the Decision of the *Sorbonne*, and that it might do him more hurt than good, which Letter bearing Date after the Decision that I have printed, does not seem to agree with it. To this I answered, that all the other Decisions of Universities being given simply in the King's Favour, and that of the *Sorbonne* bearing only, that the Majority had declared for him, this left a Blot upon the Matter, since when the Opposition is inconsiderable, Decisions are given in the Name of the whole Body; but the Mention of the Majority imported, that there was a great Opposition made, which, though it was not supported by a number equal to the other, yet was so inconsiderable, as to lessen very much the Credid of the Decision. To this I added, that King *Henry's* printing this the Year after it was given, and none ever accusing that piece of Forgery; Cardinal *Pool* on the contrary, acknowledging that he was in *Paris* when it was obtained, these were undeniable Evidences of its Genuineness, to which he answered by a hearty Acknowledgment, that he had seen another Letter, in which the Detail of the whole Proceeding of the *Sorbonne* is set down; and, as I remember, there were but one or two more than the Majority that opined on the

Kings Side ; but the rest were in different Clases. Some suspended their Opinions, others, though they condemned the Marriage, yet did not think it could be broken, since it was once made ; and some were positively of the Popes Side. In the end, after some Hours Discourse, in which all the Company was fully satisfied with the Answers that I gave, he concluded, that as he had seen many more Letters relating to that Matter than I had done, so if I thought fit, he would furnish me with a Volume of authentical Proofs for what I had writ, greater than that which I had already printed. And these were the Letters of the *French Ambassadors*, that were in King *Henry* the Eighths Court, that are in the Kings Library ; but I did not stay long enough in *Paris* to procure this.

Now what those Letters of Cardinal *Bellays* are, upon which Mr. *Varillas* pretends to found his Relation, I cannot imagine. For as he came not to act in this Matter till the last Step of it ; so his Letters cannot carry any long Series of this Affair in them, and they must be far from giving those long Excursions, into which Mr. *Varillas* always delights to wander. And, as I remember, I was in particular told, that those Letters were in the Kings Library, and so, since all that was there agreed with my History, this must pass among those hardy Citations of Authors, that Mr. *Varillas* is apt to make, to give Credit to his Inventions.

He



He flourishes a little to shew some small reading, but he is as unhappy in that as in other things. He mentions *Cambden*, as having writ the History of that Revolution with some more moderation than he is pleased to allow me; but he says, he does so constantly favour the *Calvinists*, in prejudice of those that he calls *Catholicks*, that one needs only read the first Page that turns up to him, in any part of his History, to be convinced of it. This is a very good Proof that Mr. *Varillas* never opened any one Page of *Cambden*; Since he does not write of that Revolution. For he begins his History with *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, and says no more of what went before her time, than what amounts to a very short Hint of her Birth and Education, and a general Introduction into her Reign; and that History is writ with so much Judgment and Impartiality, that as it acquired the Author the Friendship and Esteem of that eminent Historian Mr. *du Thou*; so he, after *Cambden's* Death, published the second Volume, from the Manuscript that the Author had sent him. If the Discovery of a great many Rebellions and Conspiracies against the Person of that Famous Queen, is that which disgusts Mr. *Varillas* at that History, it is because his Religion has so enslaved his Conscience, that he is so little concerned in Truth or Falshood, as not to be able to endure one of the gravest Writers that this Age has produced, because he could not avoid the Recital of those many

Crimes, that some of the Men of Mr. *Varillas's* Principles, as to Religion, were not afraid to commit. After this, he mentions another of our Historians, whom he calls Doctor *Morton*, and to make his Reader know, that he is acquainted with the History of his Life, he tells us, he was afterwards a Bishop; but this is one of the Authors of his Invention, for though we had a Doctor *Morton* that was Bishop of *Durham*, and that died about thirty Years ago; yet he writ no History. By the Character that Mr. *Varillas* gives this pretended Author, that he was more moderate than *Cambden*, I fancy he is mistaken in the Name, and that he would say Doctor *Heylin*, though this Name and *Morton* have no Affinity; but *Heylin* was no Bishop: it is true, Doctor *Heylin* has writ so moderately, that some have been severe upon him for it; but I will make no other Reflections on this, unless it be to shew the Slightness of Mr. *Varillas's* way of Writing, who it is likely had heard one talk at the same time, both concerning Doctor *Morton* and Doctor *Heylin*; and he, in his assuming way, pretends upon this to give a Character of that History, putting the Name *Morton* for *Heylin*; but he never read a Word of Doctor *Heylin*, though in his daring way, he pretends to give his Character, and repents himself of the Praise of Moderation that he had given in preference to *Cambden*, and sets it out as an Artifice, since whereas *Cambden* blames always the pretended Catholicks without  
any

any mitigations, *Morton* in blaming them, counterfeits some Pity for them, that is to say, he had some degrees of Mr. *Varillas's* Character of Religion. But Doctor *Heylin's* History being writ only in English, and it having never been translated either into *Latine* or *French*, Mr. *Varillas* cannot give a Character of it from his own Knowledge.

From our side he goes to the Writers of the Roman side, and begins with another Essay of his Exactness to his Principles of Religion. For he says, *Sanders* writ so violently, that it was no wonder if the Protestants carried their revenge so far, as to force him to die of Hunger in the Mountains of the North of *England*, to which he had retired. Here are only three capital Errors: for first *Sanders's* Book, concerning the English Schism, was not published till after his Death, so that this could give no occasion for so severe a revenge. Secondly, *Sanders* did not die in the North of *England*, but in *Ireland*. Thirdly, *Sanders* was sent over by the Pope to raise and conduct a Rebellion in *Ireland*, for which he had immediate powers from the Pope. He was so active, that he brought an Army together, which was defeated by the Queens Forces; and upon that he fled into a Wood, where he was some days after, found dead. So that having received no Wounds, it was believed he died of Hunger. This being the State of that Affair, as it is related of all sides, is not Mr. *Varillas's* a

very creditable Author, who has the Brow to report it as he does? For the Character that he gives of *Ribadeneira*, it is so imbroiled, that I do not think it worth the while to examine it. It is enough to say, that *Ribadeneira* is a Jesuit, that is to say, a Man true to Mr. *Varillas* his Character of Religion, and his History is nothing but *Sanders* drest up in another Method. I speak of that which is in *Latin*, for the *Spanish*, I have never seen it. For *Lesley*, he is generally a Grave and Wise Writer, but Mr. *Varillas* names him, because some body had told him, that one of such a Name had writ of those Matters, otherwise he had never cited him with relation to *English* Affairs, which he scarce ever mentions, but as they happened to be intermixt with the *Scotch*.

In conclusion, Mr. *Varillas* pretends to depend upon Cardinal *Bellay's* Letters, and so he thinks here is enough to settle, in the Spirit of his Reader, a firm Belief of all that he intends to write; but let him tell the World where they are to be found, since the printed Volume contains nothing of Matters, that he pretends to cite from him. And since I have printed so many of the Original Letters of that Time, and have told the Reader where they are to be found, I will expect the like from him, otherwise let him cite them as long as he will, I will take the Liberty to tell him that I do not believe him. And I think, that by this time I have given him sufficient

cient Reasons for excusing my Incredulity, in matters that he gives us upon his own Word. Here is enough for a preliminary. But I am afraid I grow heavy to my Reader; and that by this time he is so fully satisfied concerning the principles both of *Mr. Varillas's* Religion, and his Morals, that he begins to lose patience, when he sees how far I am like to carry him in a more copious Discovery. But there are a sort of Men that must be severely repressed; and there are some times, in which even a Fool is to be answered according to his Folly. Yet I will so far manage my Reader, as not to overcharge him too much; therefore as to many of those political Digressions that *Mr. Varillas* makes upon the Interest of *England, France* and *Spain*, I will pass them quite over, as the whipped Cream that he sets before his Reader. Some of them are not unpleasant, if they were proposed as Considerations, which might perhaps have had their Weight; but his averring them confidently is not to be excused, they might pass in a kind of a Book of Politicks, as a refining upon the Actions of Princes; but this way of writing is by no means to be allowed in History, since it is without any sort of Evidence, and History ought to relate things as we find they really were designed and transacted, and not as we imagine they ought or might have been. I am now entring upon a Subject, in which it will be much more easie for me to say too much, than

too little; for Mr. Varillas commits so many Errors, that though I am resolved to let lesser Matters pass unregarded, yet I find so many in my way, which require a Discovery, that I am engaged in a Task as ingrateful to my self, as it must be severe upon him.

*1. He begins with an Assurance, P. 226. that all the rest of Wicclefs Heresies were so entirely rooted out of England, that the whole Nation, without excepting one single Person, was of the same Religion during the Reign of Henry the Seventh.*

I am not now near the Records of that time, but in my History I have shewed by the Records of King Henry the Eighth's Reign, that in the Year 1511, which was but two years after Henry the Seventh's Death, there remain yet in the Registers of the See of Canterbury the Processes of 41 Persons, of whom seven were condemned for Heresies, and delivered to the Secular Arm, and the rest had the weakness to abjure: and from this hist one must conclude, that Mr. Varillas had no knowledge of our Affairs, but he thought the Period was rounder, and the air of Writing was more assuming, when he asserted that the whole Nation, without excepting one single Person, was of the same Religion. The Opinions objected to those Persons, shew, that the Reformation found a disposition in the Nation, to receive it by the Doctrines which were entertain'd by many in it: For the chief of them are, that the Sacrament of the Al-



tar was not Christ's Body, but material Bread: That Images ought not to be worshipped: That Pilgrimages were neither necessary nor profitable, and that we ought not to address our Prayers to Saints, but only to God.

But since this may be thought only a Flourish of Mr. Varillas's Pen, I go to other matters, in which it cannot be denied, that a greater exactness was necessary.

2. He lays down for a Foundation to P. 225: all that was to come after, that Prince Arthur was very unhealthy when he was married. That he was recovering out of a great Disease, of which he died five Months after. It is true, he does acknowledge, that three Words in the Bull, that was granted for the Subsequent Marriage, seem to import, that this Marriage was consummated; yet he takes the Word of the other Historians, and repeats this of Prince Arthur's ill Health so often, that he hopes, it seems, by that means to make his Reader swallow it down easily.

Here he had writ a little more artificially, if he had set over against this, on the Margent, some Citation of a Letter, or recital, which would have cost him nothing, and have been full as true as his other Citations are. Many Witnesses that were examined upon Oath, deposed before the Legates, when this matter was examined, that Prince Arthur was of a good

Complexion, Vigorous and Robust, when he was married, that he Bedded with his Princess every Night ; and the Decay, of which he died, was ascribed to his too early Marriage. And of this *Mr. Varillas* takes some notice, without reflecting on the Consequence, that the Reader might naturally draw from it ; for

P. 240. he says, King *Henry* the Seventh delayed the marrying of his second Son six years after he had obtained the Bull, and that the Death of his eldest Son made him apprehend the Loss of his second Son, if he married him so young, and though he interweaves a politick Reflection, according to his way, that is to say, impertinently, and says, if this Fear was not altogether just ; yet since King *Henry* the Seventh had no other Son, it was not altogether unreasonable. But it is obvious that this is altogether impertinent, if Prince *Arthur's* Marriage went no further than a publick Ceremony. But there are other Circumstances that overthrow this, as much as a thing that is of its Nature secret, is capable of being disproved. It is said by our Historians, who writ at that time, that the Spanish Ambassador took proofs of the Consummation of the Marriage. And in the Bull of Dispensation, for the subsequent Marriage, this was also supposed as a thing that was perhaps done. But though our Author set on the Margent

the

P. 239. *Illudque  
ex tali copula for-  
tis consummavit.  
Etiam si Matrimo-  
nium fuerit per  
exemplum copulam  
consummatum.*



the precise Words, in which he says that was conceived; yet either he never read the Bull, and so took this upon trust, or he was in a Fit of his Religion, which was so violent, that it made him not only take no care of what he said, whether it was true or false; but made him advance a deliberate Falshood. For whereas in the Preamble of the Bull of Dispensation for the younger Brother, it is set forth, that Prince *Arthur* and the Princes had been lawfully married, and had perhaps consummated their Marriage, where the Matter of Fact is set down in a dubious manner, he makes that the Dispensation had allowed their Marriage, even though the former had been consummated. And as the Words that he cites are not the Words of the Bull, so they give a different Notion of the matter; since as he gives the Words, they seem only to be a Clause put in, to make the Bull more unquestionable; whereas in truth they are a part of the matter of Fact represented to the Pope. And though this doubtful way of representing this matter of Fact, that is in the Bull, was all that could be decently said upon this case, yet it seems the *Spaniards*, who knew the Marriage was consummated, resolved to set the matter past dispute, for they either procured at that time a Breve, of the same Date with the Bull, or they forged one afterwards, in which, in the Preamble, this matter is asserted, without any perhaps, or other limiting Word, it being positively set forth

forth, that the Marriage was consummated. If *Mr. Varillas's Religion* sets him at liberty from the scrupulosity of writing Truth, yet that profound Policy to which he always pretends, should oblige him to take a little care, that the Falshoods that he advances, may not be easily discovered.

P. 232.

3. He says, *Henry the 8th. was twelve years old, when his Brother died; and that his Father had designed him for the Ecclesiastical State.*

This was taken up by the Writers of the last Age, to make the Parallel between *Julian* the Emperor and him seem to agree: that as *Julian* had been a Reader in the Church; so King *Henry* should be represented as an *Abbot* with a little band. But as King *Henry* was not 12 years old, when his Brother died, for he wanted some Months of it; and as at that Age young Princes, considering the respect that is payed to them in their Education, have seldom been found far advanced in Learning; so it does not appear, that he had then any other Education different from what was given to his Brother, who understood Latin, and some of the beginnings of Learning. Learning was then in great reputation, and *K. Henry* the 7th. engaged his Children to study, either to raise their Authority the higher by that means, or perhaps to amuse them with Learning, that they might not think of pretending to the Crown during

ring his Life, since the undoubted Title to it resting in the Person of their Mother, it had devolved upon them by her Death, though they did not think fit to claim their Right.

4. He says, that when King Henry Ibid. the 7th. intended to Marry his younger Son to P. Arthur's Widow, the Privy-Council of England approved it the more easily, because of the precaution that had been taken to hinder the consummation of the former Marriage: and to confirm this, he cites on the Margent the Petition, that the Parliament of England offered upon this matter to P. Alexander the 6th.

But as the Depositions are yet extant of the Duke of Norfolk, that was then a Privy-Counsellor, and of two others, that there was no precaution used to hinder the Consummation; so Warham, that was at that time Archbishop of Canterbury, opposed the second Marriage, as being neither honourable, nor well-pleasing to God, as he himself did afterwards Depose upon Oath. The Parliament took no Cognisance of the matter, nor did it make any address to the Pope; so that this Citation is to be considered as an Effect of Mr. Varillas his notion of Religion.

5. He runs out, in his manner, into P. 235. a long Speculation concerning the different interests of England and Spain, that made the Spaniards

ards go backwards and forwards, in the agreeing to the Match, that was proposed for P. Henry and the Princess; whom by an extravagant affectation he calls always Duke of York: and makes the Princess's Parents represent to K. Henry the 7th. the danger of his Sons growing weary of the Princess, since he was 4 years younger than she was, and that in order to the procuring of a dissolution of the Marriage from the Court of Rome, he might pretend that his Father had forced him to Marry her, whenever he should grow weary of her.

All the other Writers of that time put King Henry the 7th's desiring his second Marriage meerly on his covetousness, which made him equally unwilling to repay the Portion, or to send a great Joynture yearly after the Princess: and the Prince of Wales was too great a Match to be so uneasily admitted by the King and Queen of Spain. He whom he calls by the Title of the Duke of York, was indeed only Duke of York, for some Months after his Brothers Death, during which it was supposed, that the Princess might be with Child by his Brother; which proves beyond exception, that it was believed, that the first Marriage was Consummated. But when there was no more reason to apprehend that, then he carried the Title, that belongs to the Heir apparent of our Crown. But it seems the King and Queen of Spain were more easily satisfied in this matter, than Mr. Varillas would make us believe they were: for

two years after the Bull was granted, when Prince Henry came to be of Age, he instead of entering into any engagement to marry the Princess, made a solemn protestation in the hands of the Bishop of *Winchester*, by which he recalled the consent that he had given during his Minority, and declared that he would never marry her. But it is very likely Mr. *Varillas* had never heard of this, though the instrument of that Protestation was not only mentioned, but printed by many of the Writers of that Age: and it is confessed by *Sanders* himself, who, after all Mr. *Varillas*'s flourish with his Letters, is his only Author. And for this foresight, that he thinks he may justly ascribe to the King and Queen of *Spain*, because they are represented by the Writers of that time, to have had an extraordinary Sagacity, the reason that he makes them give, shews it was a contrivance of his own: since a mortal force, such as the Authority of a Father, was never so much as pretended to be a just ground to annul a Marriage, after it was made and consummated; otherwise most of the Marriages that have been made, might have been dissolved.

6. He adds to this another speculation, P. 236. that is worthy of him, he pretends that the King and Queen of Spain, apprehended, that King Henry the 7th. had acquired the Crown of England, and by consequence had a right to dispose of it at his pleasure; upon which the Crown of Spain was afraid, lest  
be

he should have disinherited his Son, and given the Crown to the Duke of Suffolk, that was then at Brussels, and was preparing an Invasion of England, from which they did not know, but King Henry the 7th. might save himself, by declaring Suffolk his Successor, and that upon those fears they were unwilling to consent to the Match.

Here is such a mixture of Follies, that it is not easie to tell which of them is the most remarkable. This Doctrine of the Crown of *England's* being alienable at the King's pleasure, might have passed well with those, that some years ago thought to have shut out the next Heir, and yet even these did not pretend that it could have been done by the King alone. But here is a new Theory of Politicks, for which we are sure Mr. *Varillas* can cite no Authorities from the Laws and Constitutions of *England*. King Henry the 7th had indeed acquired the Crown, by defeating that Tyrant and Usurper *Richard* the 3d, but as he pretended to be Heir of the *Lancastrian* Race himself, so by Marrying to the Heir of the House of *York*, that was the right Heir, he by a Conjunction of all Titles, made the matter sure. But this gave him no right to alienate the Crown at his pleasure, and to fancy, that a King might be induced to give away his Crown from his own Son, to the Person in the World that he hated most, and whom at his Death he ordered his Son never to forgive; who, by the way, was not Duke but only Earl of *Suffolk*.



*Suffolk*, is a Dream better becoming so slight a Brain as is that of Mr. *Varillas*, than the consummated wisdom of the King and Queen of *Spain*. But thus it falls out when a Library-Keeper turns Statesman; and when from being a teller of Tales, he will turn a Writer of Histories, which he composes out of his own Imaginations, he must needs fall into Childish Errors. When do Kings fall under those weaknesses, as to disinherit an only Son, to cover them from a remote fear: and a very remote one it was; for the Archduke needed at that time the assistance of *England* against *France* too much, to be in a condition to raise a Civil War in *England*, and to support a competition to the Crown, which could have no other effect, as to him, but to give *France* an opportunity, during the distractions of *England*, to come and destroy him. In short, here is a Vision of a poor-spirited Pedant, which is too much considered, when it is named and laugh'd at.

7. He pretends to enter into the reasons P. 237. that were alledged at Rome, both for and against the granting of the Bull; but at last he concludes, that Pope Alexander the 6th would not consent to it; that he might not give occasion to accuse him, of having broken the Discipline of the Church.

But here is such a false representation of the Court of Rome at that time, and in particular of Prince *Alexan-*

*Alexander the 6th.* that since Mr. *Varillas* will needs write Romances, I must put him in mind of one Rule; that as Painters shew their Judgment and Learning, in that which is in one Word called *le Custome*, observing the Air, Manners, and Habits of the Ages and Scenes to which their Pieces belong; so Poets, when they bring unknown Names into their Plays, they may cloath them with what Characters they please; but if they represent men, whose Histories are known, they must not confound Characters, nor represent a *Nero* as a grave Philosopher, or as a good natur'd Prince; nor a *Marcus Aurelius* as a wanton Stage-player, or as a bloody Tyrant. And therefore, though Mr. *Varillas* may shew his pretended discoveries, concerning Men that are less known, yet when he brings in an *Alexander the 6th.* on the Stage, it is too bold a violation of Poetry, to lay a strictness of Conscience, or a sense of Honour to his charge: and though there is one part of this Period true, that there had never been any dispensation of this sort formerly granted, to serve as a Precedent for it: yet that exactness, in which he represents the Enquiry, that the Divines of *Rome* made concerning this matter, agrees ill with the State of the Court of *Rome* at that time; and a Painter may as justly represent the old *Romans* in Pantaloon, and with Hats in their Hands.

8. He says, King Henry the 7th. P. 240,  
was preparing all things for the Marriage 241.  
of his Son, to the Princess when he died.  
And a little before that he had said, that her Parents  
sacrificed the Interest of their Family to the satisfaction  
of the King of England, by consenting to it.

A Match with the Heir of the Crown of Eng-  
land, was no very costly Sacrifice: and for his vi-  
sion concerning the design of marrying her to the  
Duke of Calabria, and by that means of restoring  
the Kingdom of Naples, it does so ill agree with  
the Character of the King of Arragon, that since  
there is no proof brought of this, I must look on  
it as one of those Imaginations, with which Mr.  
Varillas loves to entertain his Readers. But for  
King Henry the 7th. he was so far from making any  
preparations for the Marriage, that one  
of the Writers of that Age assures us, Morison,  
that at his Death he charged his Son  
to break it, apprehending perhaps a return of a  
new Civil War, upon the issue of a doubtful  
Marriage.

9. He gives us a new Taste of his unskilfulness in or-  
dering his Scenes. He had found that when Henry  
the Eighth's Divorce came to be started, there was  
some Discourse of a Match between him and Francis  
the First's Sister, afterwards the Queen of Navarre, and  
therefore he thought a Proposition for her, might come in  
before the Marriage, as a pretty Ornament to his Fa-  
ble.

But

But the silence of all the Papers of that Time, which I have seen, is a much better evidence against it, than his pretended Negotiation of Mr. *de Piennes* is for it, to which no Credit is due. It is well known that in the Archives of *Venice* there are Recitals laid up of all the Negotiations of their Ambassadors, and Mr. *Varillas* having perhaps heard of this, he fancied it would have a good grace, to cite such Recitals as to *French Affairs*, tho' all that know the State of *France*, know, that this has not been the practice of that Court. But as there is no proof to shew that there was any such Proposition made at that Time, so the State of King *Lewis* the Twelfth's Court differs extremely from it, in which the Count of *Angoulême*, afterwards *Francis* the first and his Sister, were not so favourable, as to give us reason to think what pains was taken to raise that Lady to the Throne of *England*.

10. He tells us, that King *Henry* the Eighth calling a Parliament in the beginning of his Reign, they thought themselves bound in point of Honour, to oblige to execute his Father's Orders, relating to his Marriage; who had not only made it the chief Article of his Testament, and charged his Son to do it upon his last Blessing; but had laid the same Charge on the Men of the greatest Credit in *England*, as he spoke his last Words to them: upon which the Parliament being careful to maintain this Authority, to which they pretended, over their Master, did oblige him.

him, by repeated Remonstrances to Marry the Princess.

Here he goes to show how implacable he is set against the Crown of *England*: formerly he had debased their Birth, but he thought that was not enough; now he will degrade them of their Dignity, and give the Parliament a Superiority over them. But it is a fatal thing for an ignorant Man to write History: for if Mr. *Varillas* could have so much as opened our Book of Statutes, he would have found, that the first Parliament, that King *Henry* the Eighth held, was assembled 21. of *January* 1510. almost eight Months after the Marriage, which was celebrated six Weeks after he came to the Crown, in which time, if Mr. *Varillas* had understood any thing of our Constitutions, he would have known, that it was impossible for a Parliament to have met, since there must be forty Days between a Summons and a Meeting of Parliament; so that if the new King had summoned one, the Day after his Father's Death, it could not have met sooner, than the day before the Marriage.

11. He says the Queen bore five Children, the first three Sons, and the other two, Girls; but the eldest Son lived only nine Months, the other two Sons, and the eldest Girl, died immediately after they were born, only the youngest, that was born the Eighth of February 1515, was longer lived.

Mr. *Varilla* has a peculiar talent of committing more Errors in one single Period, than any Writer of the Age : and here he has given a good Essay of his Art ; for the Queen bore only three Children, the first was a Son, born the first of *January*, that died the twenty second of *February* thereafter, which was not two full Months, much less nine Months : the second Son died not immediately, but about a Fortnight after he was born : and the Daughter, afterwards Queen *Mary*, was born the ninth of *February* 1516. So that tho' by chance he hath hit the Month right, yet he is mistaken, both as to the Year, and the Day of the Month. So unadvisedly a thing it is for an ignorant Writer, to deliver matters of Fact so particularly : for tho' this may deceive others, that are as ignorant as himself, by an appearance of exactness ; yet it lays him too open to those, that can find the leisure and the patience to expose him : and the last is no easie matter.

12. He runs out into a very copious account of King *Henry's Disorders*, and dresses up Queen *Katherine's Devotions* in a very sublime strain.

P. 246.

It does not appear, that in all that time he had any other Mistress, but *Elizabeth Blunt* : and during all that while, he had the highest Panegyrics made him by all the Clergy of *Europe*, upon his Zeal for Religion and Piety ; possible so, that if we did not live in an

Age



Age, in which Flattery has broke loose from all the restraints of Decency, they would appear very extravagant Commendations; and if the Sublimises of Flattery were not rather a just prejudice against a Prince, which give a Character of a swelling Ambition, and an imperious Tyranny, that must be courted by such abject methods, so that it is hard, whether we ought to think worse of the Flatterers, or the Flattered, we would be tempted to judge very advantageously of King Henry the Eighth, by the Dedications, and other fawning Addresses that were made him. As for Queen Katherine, it does appear, that she was indeed a vertuous and devout Woman; but Mr. Varillas being more accustomed to Legends, than to true Histories, could not set out this, without a considerable addition of his own: for the half of it is not mentioned by any Author, that ever I saw, nor by any quoted by himself; but a Poet must adorn his matter, and if he has not judgment, he overdoes it.

13. *He says, the King designed to P. 248.*  
*Marry his natural Son the Duke of Richmond, to his Daughter Mary; upon which he makes that long digression, concerning the Names of the Race of Tudors, that was formerly considered.*

When a man affirms a thing, that is so notoriously injurious to the Memory of a Prince, he ought at least to give some sort of proof of its truth:

truth: for tho' in the *Accesses* of Mr. *Varillas's* Religious Fits, he does not think fit to trouble himself with those inconsiderable matters of Truth and Falsehood; yet all the World is not of his mind, and some Colours of Truth are at least lookt for. It is true, a Negative is not easily proved, so a bold Affirmer fancies, he has some advantages; but in this Case it is quite otherwise, for the whole Series of the Original Instructions, Messages and Letters, that passed between *Rome* and *England*, in that matter, are still extant, in all which there is not the least Tittle, relating to this Proposition. And there are some things of such indecency, that nothing but a Temper like Mr. *Varillas's* can bring them together. For when King *Henry* was pretending a scruple of Conscience, at his own Marrying his Brother's Wife, it is very improbable, that he would have asked a Dispensation for a Marriage in a much nearer Degree. For *Sanders*, that is, Mr. *Varillas's* Author says, that both Propositions were made at the same time. There were many Libels Printed against King *Henry*, about that time, but the strongest, and the best writ, was that of Cardinal *Pools*, in which it is visible, that he spares nothing that he could alledge with any colour of Truth; yet he says nothing of this matter, tho' it had more weight in it to discover the King's Hypocrisie, in pretending to scruples of Conscience, than all the other things he Alledges: and I never could find any other Author

for this Story, before Sanders, whose Book was Printed sixty years after.

14. He gives another Essay of his P. 250. Skill in History, and that he is equally ignorant of the Histories of all Kingdoms, when he represents to us the Endeavours of the King of Scotland, for the obtaining of a Marriage with the Princess Mary, in favours of his Son, upon whose Person he bestows a kind dash of his Pen, and he enters into a Speculation of the danger, that King Henry apprehended from this Proposition; and that if he had rejected it, the King and Prince of Scotland might have addressed themselves for it to the Parliament, and that the Parliament would have raised a general Rebellion, rather than have suffered King Henry to reject it.

The dislike that Mr. Varillas has conceived against the Crown of England, seems deeply rooted in him; for it returns very often. Here he represents foreign Princes complaining to Parliaments, when the Kings do not accept of Propositions for their Children; as if our Princes were less at Liberty in the disposal of their Children, than the meanest of their Subjects are; but he knows our Constitution as little as he does the History of Scotland, otherwise he could not have represented the King of Scotland, as pretending to the Marriage of the Princess Mary his Son; since King James the Fourth, that he

Married King Henry's Sister, was kill'd at the Bat-  
tel of Floddum the second of September 1513, a-  
bove three Years before the Princess was born, he  
left an Infant Son, between whom and the Prin-  
cess a Treaty of a Marriage was once proposed,  
but no Progress was made in it, for King Henry  
neglected it. And he had always his Parliaments  
so subject to him, to apprehend any of those vain  
Schemes, with which Mr. *Varillas* would possess  
his Reader. There are many that make no great  
Progress in History, but yet know somewhat of  
of the Deaths of Kings, and that carry some  
small measure of Chronology in their Head. Yet  
since Mr. *Varillas* has not yet got so far, he had  
best buy some common Chronological Tables,  
and have them always before him, when he writes;  
and this will at least preserve him from such Chil-  
dish Errors.

P. 251. 15. He tells us, that there were many  
Pretenders to the young Princess, and to  
make a full Period, he tells us, that all the Sovereigns  
of Europe courted her, both the Emperour, the Kings  
of France, Spain and Scotland, and so he gives us  
a fantastical Speculation of King Henry's balancing  
these Propositions one against another.

But since for a round Period's sake he will needs  
split *Charles* the Fifth in two, and name both the  
Emperour and the King of Spain as two Preten-  
ders, he might as well have subdivided him into  
the

the King of Arragon and Castile, Sicily and Naples, and the very Titular Kingdom of Jerusalem, might have come in for its share.

16. He tells us, that tho' the match of Scotland was the most for the Interest of the Nation; yet King Henry was so angry with his Nephew the King of Scotland, for taking part against him, in his last War with France, that he resolved never to give him his Daughter.

Here Mr. Varillas will see again the necessity of purchasing a Chronological Table, for tho' that will cost him some Money, which as I am told, goes very near his heart; yet it will preserve him from some scurvy Errors, they may spoil the sale of his Books: for any one of those Tables, even the worst and cheapest, would have shewed him, that it was not his Nephew that took part with France against him; but his Nephew's Father: for King James the Fourth, that was King Henry's Brother-in-Law, made War on that occasion, and was killed in it, leaving an Infant Son behind him; but it is pleasant to see the Ignorance of this Scribler, that makes in one place King James the Fourth to court the Princess for his Son, tho' he died several years before she was born, and then makes King James the Fifth to be making War with his Uncle, during his Father's Life, and while himself was an Infant.

*Ibid.* 17. *He says the Emperor came, and pretended the second to the Princess, and upon that he sets down a large Negotiation, that he had with Cardinal Wolsey.*

But he shews here an Ignorance of Charles the Fifth's Life, tho' he pretends to have made more than ordinary Discoveries concerning his Affairs, that proves, that he has studied all History alike ill. He reckons up the Series of the Propositions for the Princess quite wrong; for she was first contracted to the Dolphin the ninth of November 1518, by a Treaty yet extant, then Charles the Fifth came into England in Person, and contracted a Marriage with her at Windsor the twenty second of June 1522; after that there was a Proposition made for the King of Scotland, that was soon let fall; and last of all there was a Treaty set on Foot, for the King of France then a Widower, or for his second Son the Duke of Orleans, it being left to France's opinion to determine that: and so remarkable a passage, as Charles the Fifth's coming to England in person, was unhappily unknown to Mr. Varillas; otherwise he would have dressed up a mighty Scene of Politicks to adorn it.

*Ibid.* 18. *He gives us the Character and the History of Card. Wolsey, with his ordinary colours, in which truth comes very*

*seldom in for an ingredient, he tells us how he was Bishop of Tournay, or rather Oeconome of that See,*  
and



and how many Jurnays he made between Tournay and London; and that he being enriched at Tournay, he got the Bishoprick of Lincoln, after that, upon the Bishop of Winchester's death, he had that See, from that he was raised to be Archbishop of York; then he was made Chancellor of England, then Cardinal and Legat à Latere, and last of all, he was made Chief Minister of State; and to shew our Author's deep Judgment, this last Article seemed so doubtful a Point to him, that he must needs bestow a Proof on it, and he sends us to Pope Leo the 10th's Register, though the advancements that he had already reckoned up, may well make this pass without a more particular Proof; nor is Pope Leo's Register a place likely to find it in.

Here is a great deal to let his Reader see, how intirely he was possessed with the History of that time; since he could run out so far with the Character and History of that Minister; but for the strain, in which he sets out his Character, one must see, it is only Mr. Varillas's fancy: for how came he to know Cardinal Wolsey's Air and manner of Deportment, even in the smallest thing. I that have seen much more of him in his Letters, Dispatches and Instructions than Mr. Varillas can pretend to have done, dare not go so far, because I have not arrived at Mr. Varillas his pitch of Religion; but if his Character is no truer than the History that he gives of Wolsey, I know what name is due to it. He was made Bishop of Tournay in

October, and Bishop of *Lincoln* in the *March* there after, or rather in *February*, for the Temporality was given him the 4th of *March*, which is always restored after the Consecration, so that here was not time enough to make such Journeys between *Tournay* and *London*, nor to enrich himself with the former. He had *Winechester* but 15 years after that; but he was made Archbishop of *York* two years after he had *Lincoln*; he was also made Cardinal and Legate, before he was made Chancellor; for *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was Chancellor while he was Legate, and had some Disputes with him, touching his Legative power; upon which he obtained that Dignity, for putting an end to all Disputes; and instead of his being last of all Minister of State, he was first of all Minister of State, while he was only the Lord *Almoner*, and all his other Dignities came upon him, as the natural effects of that Confidence and favour into which the King had received him.

19. He cannot assent to some Historians, that imagine he was the Confident of word of King Henry's Pleasure, since he thinks, if that had been true, he could not have been so cheated afterwards, as he was.

Here is a Demonstration that he never read my History, into which I have put, besides other Evidences of his, being on the Secret of *Anne Boleyn's* matter, two Letters that she writ  
to

to him, which are undeniable Proofs of it. But as for the long Story into which he runs out concerning *Charles* the Fifths Intrigues with him, and his way of Writing to him, in the Stile of Son and Cousin, for which he cites on the Margent the Emperors Letters to *Wolfey*, that lye in his Fancy, that is the greatest Library in the World, but the hardest to be come at, all this is so loosely writ, that it is plain Mr. *Varillas* had no light to direct him in it, since he says not a word of the most important Circumstance of it, which was the Emperors coming in Person to England, which was believed to have been done, chiefly to gain *Wolfey* entirely, and in which it is certain, that he had all the Success that he had wisht for.

20. *He says, Wolfey being alienated from the Emperor, engaged the King of France, after he was set at liberty, to treat for a Match between the Dauphin and the Princess of England, upon which they were Contracted with great Magnificency; but that was not enough for the Cardinals Malice.* P. 255.

I have formerly shewed that the Proposition of a Marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess, was in the Year 1518. long before *Francis* the Firsts Imprisonment; but the Treaty set on foot after his Liberty, was either for himself, or his second Son, and this sort of

a Treaty being somewhat extraordinary, where the alternative Lay between the Father and the Son for the same Lady, Mr. *Varillas* shews his great Ignorance of the Affairs of that time, since he says nothing of it; for this would have given him occasion enough to have entertained his Reader with many Visions and Speculations.

21. He says, that *Wolsey* deals P. 258. with *Longland* the Kings Confessor, to possess him with Scruples concerning the Lawfulness of his Marriage, that *Longland* refused to do it, but engaged *Wolsey* to begin and he promised to fortifie the Scruples that the Cardinal should infuse into the Kings Mind. Upon which the Cardinal did open the Matter to the King, and the King being shaken by his Proposition, laid the Matter before his Confessor, who seconded the Cardinal.

In this he has taken the Liberty to depart from *Sander's*, though he is the Author whom he generally copies; but it is easie to pretend to tell Secrets, but not so easie to prove them. The King himself did afterwards in publick, not only deny this, but affirm that *Wolsey* had opposed his Scruples all he could, and that he himself had opened them in Confession to *Longland*, and the King himself said to *Grineus*, that he was disquieted with those Scruples ever from the Year 1529. which was three years before the matter was made publick.

22. He

22. He says, the King upon that consulted the Divines of England, concerning the Validity of the Marriage, and that all those that were Men of Probity and disinterested, answered in the Affirmative; but some that did aspire, or that were corrupted, thought it doubtful, others, who were very few in number, affirmed it was unlawful. P. 259.

This is so false, that all the Bishops of England, Fisher only excepted, declared under their Hands and Seals, that they thought the Marriage unlawful.

23. He gives a Character of Anne P. 260. Boleyn, in which he takes up the common Reports of her ill Shape, her yellow Colour, her gage-Tooth, her Lump under her Chin, and her Hand with six Fingers: but because all this agrees ill to the Mistress of a King, he, to soften that, adds, a long Character of her Wit, Her Air and Humour, in which he lays her Charms, and here he takes all the Licences of a Poet, as well as of a Painter.

But as several of her Pictures yet extant, shew the Folly of those Stories, concerning her Deformity, so the other Particulars of this Picture are for the most part fetcht out of that Repository of false History, that lies in Mr. Varillas's Imagination.

Ibid.

24. He says, the English Historians, and some other Catholics, agree to those things, and for his Vouchers, he cites on the Margent, Sanders, Rebadencira and Remon; but they add many other Particulars, though they differ concerning them, and though he will not affirm them to be true: yet he thinks it worth the while to set them down. They say, that Anne Boleyn's true Father was not known: that she was born in England, while he was Ambassador in France; that Henry the Eighth being in Love with the Mother, had sent away her Husband, that so he might satisfy his Appetites more freely, but that he soon quitted the Mother for her eldest Daughter Mary; that Sir Thomas Boleyn, at his return to England, finding his Wife with Child, began a Suit against her, but that the King forced him to be reconciled to his Wife, and to own the Child that she bore sometime after, who was Anne Boleyn: that this Daughter, at the Age of Fifteen, was dishonoured by two of her Father's Domesticks, upon which she was sent to France, where she was so common a Prostitute, that she went by the Name of the English Hackney; that she was a common Subject of Raillery; that she became a Lutheran, though she made still Profession of the other Religion. He says, others make her pass for a Heroine, that cannot be enough commended, yet he acknowledges there are not Authentical Evidences left to discover their Imposture.

Here



Here is a way of writing that agrees well with Mr. *Varillas's* other Qualities; he was here in a cold Fit, and so his Religion did not operate so strong, as to disengage him quite from all regard of Truth, only it produces one Start, that is sufficiently extravagant, for he accuses all that is said in Favours of *Anne Boleyn* of Imposture, though at the same time he acknowledges there are authentick Evidences to disprove it; but how then came he to know that those Commendations were Impostures? He answers, that in the beginning of this Paragraph, and cites in general the Historians of *England*, and other Catholick Writers; and for the Historians of *England*, he gives us *Sanders* alone, though he can hardly make a Plural out of him, unless he splits him into three or four Subdivisions, as he had done *Charles* the Fifth, when he reckoned up the Emperor and the King of *Spain* as two of the Pretenders to the Princess *Mary*. But though I have in my History demonstrated the Fallhood of all this Legend so evidently, that I had perhaps wearied my Reader, by proving that too copiously, yet since I see that Nature can croud so much Impudence in Mr. *Varillas* alone, as might serve even the whole Order of the Jesuits, and that he is resolved to keep up the Credit of the blackest Falshoods, as the Church of *Rome* preserves still in her Breviary, a great many Lessons with Prayers and Anthems relating to them, that are now by the Consent of learned Men exploded.

ploded as Fables; I must again lay open this Matter, though I thought I had so fully confuted those Lyes, that even a Pension could not have engaged a Man to support them any more.

It may seem enough to an impartial Mind, that *Sanders* was the first that ever published those Stories, above fifty years after *Anne Boleyn's* Death: that though Cardinal *Pool*, and the other Writers of that Time, had left nothing unsaid, that could blacken King *Henry*; yet none of them had Brow enough to assert *Sanders's* Fictions; and that after *Anne Boleyn's* Tragical Fall, when her Misfortunes had made it a fashionable thing to blacken her, yet these Impostures were reserved for *Sanders*, and for an Age, in which he and many others of his Church, were setting on many Rebellions and Conspiracies against Queen *Elizabeth*, they were so powerfully acted by Mr. *Varillas's* Spirit of Religion, though they had not the Folly to own it, as he has done, as to give themselves the liberty to say the foulest things against the Mother, without giving themselves the trouble to enquire whether they were true or false: and the things here advanced, are of such a Nature, that either they must be evidently true, or they are notoriously false; for an Embassy into *France* of such a continuance, a Sute moved upon Sir *Thomas Boleyn's* Return, were publick Matters, and must have lain open to a Discovery. The whole Recital is impossible, as it is told; for if she was born after Sir *Thomas Boleyn*

*Boleyn* returned from an Embassy, to which King *Henry* had sent him, that he might enjoy his Wife, and in which he staid two years, as *Sanders* says; then since King *Henry* came to the Crown, in the Year 1509. she must be born in the Year 1511. and then the fifteenth Year of her Age will fall in the Year 1526. and it being certain that the King began to court her in the Year 1527. here is not time enough for her Leudness, and her long Stay in *France*. But it is certain that she was born in the Year 1507. two years before King *Henry* came to the Crown, and when he was but fourteen years old, and that at seven years old she went over to *France* with King *Henry's* Sister, when she was married to *Lewis* the Twelfth; and though upon that Kings Death, the Queen Dowager of *France* came soon after back into *England*, yet *Anne Boleyn* staid still in *France*, and was in the Service of *Claud Francis's* the Firsts Queen, and after her Death, the Kings Sister, the Dutchesse of *Alencon*, took her into her Service, and these two Princesses were so celebrated for their Vertue, that this alone is enough to shew that she was then under no Infamy, since she was of their Family. She was also Maid of Honour to our Queen *Katharine*, who, even by Mr. *Varillas's* Character, was of too severe a Vertue, to admit a common Prostitute to that Degree of Honour. So that here is more than enough to discredit all those Calumnies.

25. He says, though there is not  
 P. 261. Evidence enough in the former Reports,  
 yet there is a certain Proof for King  
 Henry's Disorders with the Elder of the two Sisters,  
 Mary Boleyn, since in the Demand that King Hen-  
 ry made for a Permission to marry Anne, he confes-  
 sed his Disorders with her Sister, and offered to do  
 Penitance for them; and to vouch for this, he cites  
 King Henry's Petition to Pope Clement the Se-  
 venth.

Here Mr. Varillas shews, how little he under-  
 stands the Advantages that he has to maintain  
 his Assertions, since there is an Authority for this  
 last, that has more appearance of Truth in it,  
 than all his other Citations put together, though  
 his Ignorance made him incapable of finding it  
 out. For Cardinal Pool, in his Book against  
 King Henry, objects this to him, and this has a  
 fair appearance: whereas the Petition that he  
 cites, is a Dream of his own, that was never be-  
 fore heard of. But though I have said more for  
 the Honour of Cardinal Pool than all the Pane-  
 giricks that have been given him, amount to,  
 yet I am very well assured, that in this particular  
 he was abused by Reports, to which he gave  
 too easie a Belief; for as all the Original Intru-  
 ctions and Dispatches that were made upon that  
 Affair, are yet extant, in which there is not one  
 Word relating to this Matter; so it is plain,  
 that the Affair was never so far advanced, as to  
 demand

demand a Permission for a second Marriage, since that could never be so much as asked, till the first was dissolved, and that not being gained, there was not room made for it. If the King had given such Advantages against himself, as to have put such a Confession in a Petition to the Pope, is it to be imagined, that the Popes would not have discovered this in some Authentical manner, and even have put it in the Thundering Bull, that was afterwards published against him; for this alone proved his Hypocrisie of pretending Scruples of Conscience at his Marriage beyond Exception; and if the King acted in this matter, without any regard to Conscience, it is unreasonable to represent him as so strictly Conscientious, and that he would have confessed so scandalous a Secret, and so to have put himself in the power of those, of whom he could not be well assured.

26. He gives us a long account of Wolsey's Design, to engage the P. 263. &c. King to marry the Dutches of Alencon. Of the Bishop of Tarke's being sent over to bring the English Princess into France, upon her being Contracted to the Dauphin. And of Wolsey's prevailing with him to let that Proposition fall, and to set on another, for a Marriage between the King of England and the Dutches of Alencon. And that the Bishop of Tarke was cheated by Wolsey; and being in the Interests of the Dutches of Alencon.

lencon, he demanded a publick Audience of the King, in the presence of the Council, in which he employed all his Eloquence to persuade him to divorce his Queen, and to marry the most Christian Kings Sister.

In all this Matter, Mr. Varillas is only the Copier of Sanders, yet he cannot tell another mans Lie, without mixing some Additions of his own; for the Bishop of Tarke's being sent over to demand the Princess, is one of the Fruits of his own Religion. But though a Pedant of a Priest, such as Sanders, had told so improbable a Story; yet it ill became a man, that pretends to know Courts, and the Negotiations of Ambassadors, as Mr. Varillas does, to assert such Improbabilities, as that an Ambassador sent express to demand a Princess for his Masters Son, which was the greatest Advantage that France could have possibly hoped for, should be so far wrought on by the Minister of the Court, to which he was sent, as not only to let all this fall; but to make a new Proposition for the illegitimizing of the young Princess, and for offering his Masters Sister to King Henry, and all this without any Instructions from his Master, and thereby exposing the Dutchess of Alencon to the Scorn of being rejected, after she was so publicly offered to the King of England, though every Body knows, that the first Offers of Princesses are made in secret. And after all this, that the Bishop of Tarke, who not only exceeded his Instructions,

but



but acted contrary to them in so important a matter, was neither recalled nor disgraced; but on the contrary, he was afterwards promoted to be a Cardinal by the Recommendation of the Court of *France*; and he being a Cardinal, and seeing afterwards how he was abused, if we may believe this Fable, is it to be supposed, that he, either out of his own Zeal for the Court of *Rome*, or by the Accusations that naturally such a Proposition, begun by him, must have brought on him, would not have told all this Secret afterwards? In short, as this Relation contains many particulars in it, that are not according to the Forms of our Court, such as his demanding an Audience in the presence of the Council (for it seems, as *Mr. Varillas* set our Parliaments above our Kings, he will make the Privy-Council equal to them) so the whole is so contrary to all the Methods of Ambassadors, that this would scarce pass, if it related to the Transactions of the Courts of *China* or *Japan*; but it is so gross an Imposition on such as know the Methods of the Courts of *Europe*, that *Mr. Varillas* presumed too much on the Credulity of his Readers, when he thought that this could be believed: and *si non è vera, il è ben trovato*, is so necessary a Character for a man to maintain, that would have his Books sell well, which I am told is *Mr. Varillas's* chief Design, that he had best find out some Judge of his Pieces, that has a true Understanding, since it is plain, that he has not Sense

Sense enough himself to make a right Judgment in such matters.

P. 266. 27. He says, when Cardinal Wolsey went over into France, he carried a Commission to consult the Universities of France, touching the Kings Divorce; but that the Change of Affairs in Italy made the King to recall him; who was strangely surprised, when he found that the King had no thoughts of marrying the Dutches of Alencon, and that he was become so much in Love with Anne Boleyn, that he was resolved to marry her on any Terms.

It is an unfortunate thing for a man to have heard too much, and to have read too little of History: for as the one gives him much confidence, so the other exposes him to many Errors. Mr. Varillas had heard that King Henry had consulted many Universities; but not knowing where to place this, he fancied that it must be the first step in the whole matter. But he knew not that this was not thought on, till after a Suit of above two Years continuance, in which the King saw how he was deluded by the Court of Rome; and upon that, he took the other method of consulting the Universities. All his Speculations concerning Cardinal Wolsey, are built on the common Mistake, that supposes him ignorant of the Kings Intentions for Anne Boleyn, the Falshood of which, I have sufficiently demonstrated.

28. He tells us, that Cardinal P. 278.

Wolsey having once several Bishops to dine with them, the King knowing of it, went to them after Dinner, and made a Writing to be read to them, that set forth the Reasons against his Marriage; the Bishops did not approve it quite, yet they were so complying, as to say, that if those things were true, his Scruples were well grounded.

This was too important a thing, not to be made appear probable by some of his pretended Vouchers, though it is most certainly false; for a Resolution, signed by all the Bishops of England, except Fisher, was produced before the Legates, to shew how well the Kings Scruples were grounded.

29. He says, the Privy-Council acted more steadily, and intended to give Ibid. the King an undeniable Proof of his Mistress's Lewdness, for Sir Thomas Wiat, that had obtained of her the last Favours, was willing to let the King know it; and so being of the Privy-Council, he not only owned the matter to the rest of that Board, but was content to let the King know it; and when he found that the King would not believe it, he offered to make the King himself an Eye-witness to their Privacies; but though the Duke of Suffolk made this bold Proposition to the King, he was so far from hearkning to it, that Wiat was disgraced upon

upon it, and by this means the Mistress was covered from such dangerous Discoveries for the future.

Such a Story as this might have passed from *Sanders*, that knew the World little, but in earnest it seems the Fits of *Mr. Varillas's* Religion are strong even to Extasie, since they make him write as extravagantly of humane Affairs, as if he had passed his whole Life in a Desert. A Man that knows what humane Nature is, cannot think that *What* would have either so far betrayed *Mr. Boleyn*, or exposed himself, as to have made such a Discovery; it being more natural for a Man, that was assured of a young Lady's Favour, to contribute to her Elevation, since that must have raised himself, than to contrive her ruin. And *King Henry*, whose imperious Temper gave him a particular Disposition to Jealousie, must have been of a different Composition from all the rest of Mankind, if he could have rejected a Discovery of this Nature. And when the secrets of Jealousies are opened to Princes, it is too gross, even for a Romance, to make the Discoverer to begin with the Council-board, and to procure a Deputation from them to acquaint the King with them. But as *What* does not appear to have been a Privy-Councillor, till near the end of *King Henry's* Reign; so it is plain enough, he was never disgraced, but continued to be still employed by the King in some foreign Embassies, to the end of his Life.

30. He says, Anne Boleyn endeavoured, tho' in vain, to engage P. 169. &  
Sr. Thomas More to negotiate her 270.

Affair, but he being proof against all Corruption, Gardiner, that was a Canonist, was made Secretary of State, and was sent to Rome with my Lord Brian, who scandalized all Rome with his lewd behaviour; and had the impudence to assure the Pope, that the Queen desired to be divorced, that so she might retire into a Monastery. And made other offers of great advantage to the Pope, in case he would allow the Divorce.

Mr. Varillas cannot say too much in Sr. Thomas More's commendation: but since he was a Man of so much Sincerity, it is certain, that he approved of the Divorce: for in a Letter, that his own Family printed among his other Works, in Queen Mary's Reign, he, writing to Cromwell, owns, that he had approved of the Divorce, and that he had great hopes of the King's success in it, as long as it was prosecuted in the Court of Rome, and founded on the defects that were pretended to be in the Bull; and after that most of the Universities and of the learned Men of Europe had given their Opinions in favour of the Divorce, four years it was first moved, he being then Chancellour, went down to the Commons and made those Decisions to be read there, and upon that he desired the Members of Parliament to report in their Countries, that which they had heard and

and seen ; and added these very Words, *and then all Men will openly perceive, that the King has not attempted this Matter for his Will and Pleasure, but only for the discharge of his Conscience.* Upon *Wolsey's* Disgrace, he was made Chancellor, and continued in that high trust almost three years; which is an evident sign that he did not then oppose the Divorce ; nor did he grow disgusted of the Court, till he saw that the King was upon the point of breaking with the See of *Rome*. So that he would have liked the Divorce, if the Pope could have been prevailed with to allow it ; but he did not approve of the King's procuring it another way. *Mr. Varillas* is no happier in the other parts of this Article : for *Gardiner* was not sent first to *Rome*, to negotiate this matter. *Knight* that was Secretary of State, was first employed ; and *Gardiner* was not made Secretary of State, till near the end of this Negotiation : nor was he ever sent to *Rome* with *Brian* : nor was *Brian* a Lord, but only a Knight ; and it was a year after this Sute was first begun, before *Brian* was employed in it ; so that he could carry no such deluding Message to the Pope, concerning the Queen's desiring the Divorce. And for this pretension of the Queen's desiring to retire to a Monastery, it was never made use of by the *English* Ambassadors. It was on the contrary a notion of the Pope's, who thought, that if that could be put into her Head, it would be the easiest Method of getting out of this uneasiest matter : and therefore he ordered his

Legate



Legate Cardinal *Campegio* to advise the Queen to it. And for the Scandals of *Brian's* Life, they must have been very great, if they gave offence at *Rome* at that time: but as I can not answer much for *Brian*, so I will not trouble my self to vindicate him; but he could not behave himself more indecently at *Rome* than *Campegio* did in *England*, when he came over Legate, who scandalized even the Court with his lewd behaviour.

31. He says, the Pope was sensible P. 272. of his obligations to the King, and resolved to do all he could to gratifie him, and so ordered *Cajetan* to examine the matter, who did it in his manner after the Method of the Schools. And here he gives us an Abstract of his Book. He laid this down for a Maxime, that the High-Priest under the New Testament had no less Authority, than the High-Priest had under the Law of *Moses*, who had power to allow of such Marriages, to good ends and in good Circumstances; and that the end of this Marriage was noble: that the Crowns of *England* and *Spain* being united, might send their Fleets to block up *Constantinople*. And that by this Marriage, as *Italy* was to be set at Peace, so King *Henry* was diverted from Marrying to Families suspect of Heresie: and that therefore the Pope could not grant a Dispensation for annulling it. And with his usual Confidence he cites on the Margens *Cajetan's* Consultation. And thus, he says, confirmed the Pope in his Resolution, not to grant the Dispensation for breaking the Marriage upon any Terms whatsoever.

I have given such Authentick Demonstrations of the Falschood of this Particular, that I am sure the strongest Fit of Mr. *Varillas's* Religion cannot resist them. For the Pope, upon the first Proposition, franckly granted the Dispensation, and only consulted with some Cardinals about the Methods of doing it : and afterwards he sent one over to *England*, and promised, that he would do, not only all that he could grant either in Law or Justice ; but every thing else that he could grant out of that plenitude of Power, with which he was vested in the King's favour. The Pope also proposed a Method, that perhaps would have brought the matter to an easier issue, which was, that if the King was satisfied in his own Conscience concerning the Divorce, in which he did not think that there was a Doctor in the whole World, that could judge so well as himself, then he might put away his Queen, and Marry another, and then the Pope would confirm all. For the crafty Pope thought it would be easier for him to confirm it, when it was once done, than to give Authority to do it : and in short, the Pope made the King still believe, that he would do it, still by that means he brought the Emperour to grant him all he desired. And as for *Cajetan's* opinion, I am now in a Countrey where I cannot find his Works, so I cannot be so positive in this matter ; but as far as my Memory serves me, *Cajetan* writ nothing with Relation to this matter : but only in the Body of his School-Divinity, that he had published

published long before this Suit began, he had set on foot a new Opinion touching the Prohibitions of Marrying in near Degrees, which the Church by a constant Tradition had in all Times lookt on as mortal Laws; whereas he asserted, they were only positive Precepts, that did not bind under the Christian Religion, and by consequence, that there was no Law now against Marriages in those Degrees, but the Law of the Church, with which the Pope might dispense. In all the Books that I have seen, that were writ for the Queen's Cause, *Cajetan's* Authority is brought, as a thing already abroad in the World, and not as a Consultation writ upon this Occasion: and by what I remember of that Cardinal's Life, it is said, that in his reasonings with *Luther* he had found himself so defective in the knowledge of the Scripture, that whereas formerly he had given himself wholly to the Study of School-Divinity, he after that gave himself entirely to the Study of the Scripture, in which, making allowance for his Ignorance of the Original Tongues, he succeeded to Admiration. But tho' I cannot procure a Sight of his Treatise concerning the Degrees of Marriage, the Idea that I retain of his solid way of writing, makes me conclude, that he was not capable of writing in so trifling a manner, as *Mr. Varillas* represents the Matter. For what Man of sense could say, that the High-Priest under the Jewish Religion could dispense with a

Brother's marrying his Brother's Widow, in some Cases: in Case that a Brother died without Children, his Brother, or the next of Kin, might have married the Widow, by the Dispensation that the Law gave, and not by a Dispensation of the High-Priest. And for the Ends that he pretends of those two Princes, going to block up *Constantinople* with their Fleets, a man must be ignorant in History to the Degree of *Mr. Varillas*, to imagine this, since as the Kings of those Times had no Royal Fleets, but were forced to hire Merchant-Vessels, when they had occasion for them; so the blocking up of *Constantinople* was too bold a project for those Days, and does not seem to have been so much as once thought on. And for the other Ends that he mentions, tho' the procuring such a Peace to *Italy*, as was for the Interest of the Popes, was a thing for which they would have sacrificed any thing; yet this differs much from Pope *Julius* the Second's Character, who granted the Dispensation, since his whole Reign was a continued Imbroilment of *Italy*. Nor does it appear that King *Henry's* Marriage could have any influence on the Peace of *Italy*, unless it were very remote. And as for the other Reason alledged for the Marriage, that it diverted King *Henry* from marrying into Families suspect of Heresie, this is too great a violation of the Custom; for it seems *Mr. Varillas* had the present State of *Europe* in his Head, when he writ it: but *Cajetan* could not write

write this, for in the Year 1503. there were no Families in Europe suspect of Heresie : so that all this reasoning, that is here entitled to *Cajetan*, is a Mass of Mr. *Varillas*'s crude Imaginations, which do equally disocover both his Ignorance, and his want of Judgment.

32. He accuses Mr. *Beaucaire*, for P. 274. saying a thing that was no way probable, when he affirms, that Cardinal *Campegio* carried over to England a Bull annulling the Marriage, which he was allowed to shew both to the King and to Cardinal *Wolsey*, but that this was only an Artifice to procure him the more credit for drawing out the Process into a great length.

But when a Writer rejects what he finds affirmed by another, that lived in the Time concerning which he writes, he ought at least to give some Reasons to justify his being of another mind; since it is a little too bold for any Man, of a Temper more modest than that of Mr. *Varillas*, to deny a matter of Fact, meerly because he thinks it is no way probable, but evidently true, as I have made it appear beyond all possibility of Contradiction : for after that *Campegio* had, according to his Instructions, shewed the Bull, both to the King and to *Wolsey*, great endeavours were used at *Rome* to procure an order

for his shewing it to some of the King's Ministers; but the Pope could not be prevailed on so far: and I have printed an Original Letter of *John Castile*, that contains a long conference that he had with the Pope on this Head; by which it appears, that the only Consideration that the Pope had before his Eyes in this whole matter, was the *Emperour's Greatness*, and his Fears of being ruined, if he had made any further steps in that Affair.

P. 277. 33. He says, that the Queen having thrown her self at the King's Feet, and made a very moving Speech, the King was so far melted with it, that he said, that he was contented to refer the matter to be judged by the Pope in Person, upon which she went out instantly, that so the King might not have time to recal that, which perhaps he had said a little too suddenly; and that she always claimed this promise, tho' the King had no regard to it.

Here is a new Fit of his Religion; for it seems *Sanders* felt not those vigorous motions, that were necessary to furnish out his Scenes: and therefore, tho' *Mr. Vartius* adds no Discovery as to matters of Fact, beyond what *Sanders* had made, yet he has the more copious Inventions of the two. But he does not place his Contrivances judiciously, for it is much safer to dress up the secrets of the



Cabinet, than publick Courts of Judicature with such garnishings: and as that was the most solemn Tryal, that ever England saw, in which a King and Queen appeared as Delinquents, to be tryed for Incest, so the matter is not only particularly related by those that lived in that Time, or soon after it, but the Journals of the Court are yet in being, and by all these it appears, that as soon as the Queen made that moving Speech, she immediately rose and went out, without staying for one Word of Answer. And in all that long Suit that followed afterwards, for obliging the King to carry on the Suit at Rome, that depended for three years, this offer of the King's, if it had any other being but that which Mr. Varillas's Fiction gives it, would have been certainly alledged, for obliging the King to continue the Process at Rome; but it was never so much as mentioned, so the honour of it belongs to Mr. Varillas.

34. He says, that in the Process, as Hid.  
the King's Advocates produced a Letter, that Cardinal Hadrian had writ at the time of the granting the Bull for the Marriage, that he had heard Pope Julius the second say, that he could not grant it, the Queen's Advocates produced likewise a Letter of Pope Julius to the King of England, that assured him, that she had not granted the Bull as soon as it was demanded, that was not out of any intension to refuse

it ; but that he had only waited for a favourable Con-  
-junction, that so he might do it the more delibe-  
-rately.

This is of no consequence : but some Men get  
into ill Habits, that engage them, even when  
there is no advantage to tell Lies. The whole  
Journals of this Suit mention neither the one nor  
the other of these matters : there is somewhat like  
the second, of which some, it seems, had in dis-  
course given Mr. *Varillas* a dark Hint, and he  
resolved to garnish it up the best he could. There  
was a Breve of Pope *Julius's* produced, but not  
writ to the King of *England*, for it was addressed  
to the Kings of *Spain*, and was indeed believed to  
be forged in *Spain*. It was conceived in the very  
Words of the Bull for the Marriage, and was of  
the same date, and the only difference between  
it and the Bull was, that whereas the Bull men-  
tioned the Queen's Marriage with *Prince Arthur*,  
as having been perhaps consummated, this spoke  
of the Consummation of that Marriage less doubt-  
fully, and without a *perhaps* : and the inference  
that was made upon this was, that the *Spaniards*  
foreseeing that the Consummation of *Prince Ar-  
thur's* Marriage would be proved, had forged this  
Breve, to make it appear, that the Pope was in-  
formed of that as of a thing certain, tho' it was de-  
cent in the publick Bull to mention it doubtfully.  
But Mr. *Varillas* shews how dangerous a thing it

was to write History upon flying Reports, helped up a little with the dull Invention of an ill Poet.

35. He runs out into a high Commendation of the Zeal and Fidelity of some of the English Bishops, who were named to be the Queen's Advocates, shewed in pleading her Cause. P. 278.

But in this he shews, how little he understands the common Forms of Law: For since the Queen declined the Court, and appealed to the Pope, there was no more occasion given to her Advocates, to speak to the merits of her Cause. And whereas he pretends, that this was done, not only by Bishop Fisher, but by the Bishops of London, Bath and Ely, that was impossible, since all the Bishops had signed a Writing, which was produced before the Legates, in which they all declared themselves against the Lawfulness of the Marriage.

36. He says, The Pope recalled the Cause, to be heard before himself, on this pretence, that the King had by Word of Mouth consented to it.

This is a slight of our Author's, to colour that shameful secret: for when the Emperor had agreed

to put *Florence* into the hands of the *Medici*, the Pope who had seemed to favour the King's cause till that time, did then admit of the Queen's Appeal: and tho' he had signed a formal Promise, never to recal the Cause, yet he being as little a Slave to his Word, as Mr. *Varillas* is to Truth, broke his Faith. But he never so much as once pretended this consent of the King's.

37. He says, *Wolsey* being disgraced, Ibid. was sent to York, where he languished some time, being reduced almost to Beggary.

This comes in as a dash of his Pen, to set out K. *Henry's* Severity; but one of *Wolsey's* Domesticks, that writ his Life, tells us in how great State he went to York, with a Train of 160 Horse, and an Equipage of 72 Carts following him with his Household-stuff; for the King restored him not only his Arch-Bishoprick of York, but also his Bishoprick of *Winchester*, which Mr. *Varillas* fancies he took from him: and it was impossible for a Man that had those two great Benefices, to be reduced to any degrees of Want.

38. He says, *Anne Boleyn* raised Cran-  
Pag. 281. mer to the Dignity of chief Minister of State, who was one of the profligatest Men of England, that had nothing of Christianity in him.

him, but the outward appearance, being ambitious, voluptuous, bold, turbulent and capable of all sorts of Intrigues. He had studied long in Germany, where he was infected with Lutheranism, though he did not outwardly profess it. He took a Concubine in Germany, whom he afterwards married by the King's permission. He had been Chaplain long in the Family of Boleyn, so when the See of Canterbury fell vacant, Anne Boleyn presented him.

The Fit here is extream hot and long, and shews, how entirely Mr. Varillas was seduced by it, since it is hardly possible for a Man to spit out more Venom and Falshood at once. Crommer was never in the Affairs of State, much less chief Minister. And any ignorance less than Mr. Varillas's would have found, that Crommel succeeded Wolsey in the Ministry. As for Crommer's Ambition, as he had passed the greatest part of his Life in a secret Retirement, so he was in Germany when the See of Canterbury fell vacant, and when he understood that the King intended to raise him to that Dignity, he excused himself all he could, and delayed his Return to England some Months, that so the King might have time given him to change his Mind. He was so far from being turbulent and hardy, and from being a Man of Intrigues, that his plain Simplicity made him to be despised by his Euemies. Still they found

that there was a wise Conduct under all that Mildness and Slowness. And it was this simplicity, and his keeping himself out of all Intrigues, that preserved him in *K. Henry's* esteem. He never went to study in *Germany*, but was sent into *Italy* and *Germany* to reason with the Learned Men in the Universities concerning the Kings Divorce. He married a Wife in *Germany*, and was so far from obtaining the King's Permission to marry her, that upon a severe Law, that was afterwards made against the Marriage of the Clergy, he sent her into *Germany* for some time, yet he frankly owned his Marriage to the King, when he questioned him upon it, and there was never the least imputation laid upon his Chastity, except this of his Marriage, which we think none at all. He was never Chaplain in the *Bolyn-Family*, but lived private in *Cambridge*, when the King came to hear of him, and to employ him in the prosecution of the Divorce. And so far was he from being presented by *Anne Bolyn*, upon the vacancy of *Canterbury*, that he was then in *Germany*. And now it appears what a secret Mr. *Varillas* has, of making as much Falseness go into one Period, as would serve another to scatter up and down a whole Book; but we know the Society that has this Secret, and it is certain, that Mr. *Varillas* has learnt it to perfection.



39. He says, the King accepted Cranmer upon condition, that he would pronounce the Sentence of Divorce between their Majesties of England, in case that the Pope ratified their contested Marriage: and thus by a way so uncanonical he was made Archbishop of Canterbury. Ibid.

There was no occasion of demanding any such Promise of Cranmer, for he had openly declared his Opinion, that the Marriage was incestuous and unlawful, so that this Judgment was already known. But Mr. Varillas shews how little he knew our Matters, when he says, that Cranmer was made Archbishop in an uncanonical way; for as he was chosen by the Chapter of Canterbury, so he had his Bull from Rome, and how little soever, this is Canonical according to the Canons of the Ancient Church, yet Mr. Varillas has no reason to except to the Uncanonicalness of it.

40. He says, he was instaled by another Artifice, for being required to swear the Oath to the Pope, he had a Notary by him, who attested, that he took his Oath against his Will, and that he would not keep it to the prejudice of the King. Ibid.

He

He made no Protestation, that he took that Oath against his Will; but he repeated a protestation twice at the high Altar, that he intended not by that Oath to the Pope, to oblige himself to any thing that was contrary to the Law of God, to the King's Prerogative, or to the Laws of the Land, nor to be restrained by it from proposing or consenting to any thing, that might concern the Reformation of the Christian Faith, the Government of the Church of England, or the Prerogatives of the King and Kingdom. This is a different thing from protesting, that he took the Oath against his Will, which as it had been ridiculous in it self, so was very far contrary to that Native Singleness of Heart, in which he always acted.

P. 182.

41. He says, there was an ancient Law against the Subjects of England's acknowledging a foreign Jurisdiction, upon which the King raised a Suit against his Clergy, for owning the Pope's Jurisdiction, in that which was a mixt Court, relating both to the Temporal and the Spiritual. And he adds, that the Clergy had an easy Answer to this Charge, since that Law had no regard to the Spiritual Authority.

Matters of Law are things of too delicate a Nature for so slight a Man as Mr. Varillas to look into

into them. He represents this as one single Law, that was very old, and that related only to Temporals, whereas if he had known any thing of our Laws, he would have seen that there was a vast number of Laws made in the Reigns of many of our Kings, such as *Edward the First, Edward the Third, Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth, and Henry the Fifth*, all relating to this Matter, and these Laws were made in express Words against all that brought Bulls and Provisions from Rome to Ecclesiastical Benefices.

42. He says, the Motions of the Clergy in their own Defence, could not but be feeble, since they had two such treacherous Heads as *Cranmer and Lee Arch-bishop of York*, so they made a Submission to the King, but he would not receive it, unless they would acknowledge that he had the same Authority over the Ecclesiastical Body, that he had over his other Subjects; and thus, without thinking on what they did, they furnished the King with a Pretence of calling himself Head of the Church of England.

*Cranmer* was so little concerned in this matter, that it was past two Years before he was Arch-bishop, while *Warham* was Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; for the Submission was made in *March 1531.* and he was consecrated in *March 1533.* And

And *Lee* of *York* was so far from consenting to it, that he struggled long against it, after *Warham* and his Synod had past it. And whereas he pretends, that the King drew his Pretence to be Head of the Church of *England*, from a general Acknowledgment that they had made of the Kings Authority over Church-men; this is so far from true, that the whole Clergy, even his admired *Fisher* not excepted, did in the Title of the Submission, to which they all set their Hands, call the King in so many formal Words, Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of *England*, in so far as was agreeable to the Law of Christ; and this was done during *More's* Ministry, who continued Chancellor fifteen Months after this.

43. He says, that upon *More's*  
 P. 283. laying down his Office, the King gave the Seals to another Church-man, that was no less devoted to him than *Cranmer*, whose Name was *Andley*, on whom he bestows a Character, though he knows nothing concerning him.

*Andley* was no Church-man, but a common Lawyer, as *Moore* was, that had been Chancellor before him, and the Gentlemen of that Robe being raised upon Merit, and not by their Birth, his low Extraction was no extraordinary matter.

44 He says, the King finding that the Pope was afraid that he should contract a secret Marriage with Anne Boleyn, resolved to do it, on design to do the Pope a Spite; so the Day being set, one Rolland a Priest, being appointed to do the Office, demanded the Popes Bull for the Marriage, which he was made believe that the King had procured; but the King swore to him that he had it in his Closet, and that nothing made him not go immediately to fetch it, but his unwillingness to retard that Action. Ibid.

This is so ill told, that Mr. Varillas ought to have imployed a little of his Religious Zeal to make it more plausible; for it was then so well understood, that the Pope was entirely united to the Emperor, that Rolland Lee could not imagine there was any Bull granted; and he was all his Life of too complying a Temper, to need such Artifices to oblige him to do any thing that might serve to advance him. Mr. Varillas represents the King here too much like a private Gentleman, that keeps his Papers in his own Closet, and that must go fetch them upon occasion, which was so far from King Henry's Temper, that our Poet neglected the Customs too much, in presenting him in such a manner. Only it was thought fit to make the King begin his Marriage with

with a false Oath. And though not only Truth, but Decency was sacrificed to that, this was too small a Matter to create any Trouble to such a Man as Mr. *Varillas*; and his making the King to marry *Anne Boleyn*, only to do a Spite to the Pope, is a Piece with the rest. But this being the Conclusion of an Amour of seven years continuance, a Poet should have given it a more amorous turn,

45. But to let us see that his Character of Poet has not quite abandoned him, he brings in Amour in Jealousie, and tells us that the Jealousie of the two Sisters was the true Cause of it; for the Elder envying the Fortune of the Younger, began to publish the Privacies that had been between the King and her, upon which the Younger, to take her turn of Revenge, was contented to be married to the King secretly, upon his promising to publish it within two months.

But the Fictions, as well as the Verses of old Men, when they enter upon amorous Matters, taste of their Age, for it is a pleasant thing to see our Poets Fancy, that it was Revenge that determined a young Gentlewoman to be content to be a Queen, one would think that other Considerations without this, were strong enough to make a Crown appear a lovely thing to her. As  
for



for her Elder Sister *Mary's* Indiscretion and Jealousie, our Author has the Honour to be the Inventor of it: for I do not find it in any other Writer, and therefore I do him all the Justice he can desire, in confessing this to be the Product of his own Fancy. But his imagining that the King would not lose this Favourable Moment, lest the Attractives of a Crown should have been less operative, if Spite did not concur to quicken them, is a thought too little worthy of a Man, that pretends to have observed humane Nature so exactly.

*He says, upon this Cranmer, with Ibid. some Judges that were corrupted, were sent to Dunstable, to put an end to the Process of the Divorce, and though the Queen refused to acknowledge them, yet they dissolved the Marriage.*

There was no occasion to corrupt Judges in this Matter, nor were there any Judges employed in it; a great many Bishops went along with *Cranmer*, and concurred in the Judgment with him, though the Sentence was past in his Name. It was made appear, that it had been the constant Doctrine of the Church, that the Prohibitions of the Degrees of Marriage in the Law of *Moses*, were moral Precepts, which did oblige Christians. This was proved by the Decrees of several

several Popes, the Canons of many Synods and Councils, and by the concurring Testimonies of almost all the Greek and Latin Fathers, both Ancient and Modern, and by the agreeing Doctrines, both of School-men, Canonists and Casuists; and if Tradition was the true Expounder of Scripture, and the sure Conveyance of Doctrine, the Marriage was certainly Incestuous; so that according to the Fundamental Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Marriage was unlawful; and by the same Authorities it was also proved, that the Popes Dispensation could not make void the Law of God, and that the Clergy of *England* were the proper Judges of what fell out in *England*. This being the State of that Matter, and almost all the Universities of *Europe*, that of *Bologna* it self not excepted, though it was the Popes own Town, having declared in the Kings Favours, it was no wonder, if *Crammer*, upon such Grounds, proceeded to give Sentence.

47. He dresses up a Speech for Cardinal Bellay, all out of his own Fancy; but one thing is remarkable, he makes the Cardinal represent to the King, that if he went to separate himself from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, either he would succeed in it, or not; if he succeeded in it, besides that, he put himself in a State of Damnation, there would be no place found

found that would be safe for his Sacred Person, against the Attempts of zealous Catholicks, who would endeavour to kill him, that they might preserve their Ancient Religion; and if he succeeded not, he might be assured, that he would lose both his Crown and his Life in a General Revolt.

Mr. Varillas is now in a Fit of Religion of another sort, for as there are hot and cold Fits of Agues, so if some of his Fits make him forget the Obligations of speaking Truth, this makes him speak out a Truth indeed, but of that Nature, that if he had been long practised in the Secrets of the Court of Rome, or of the Jesuite-Order, he would have known, that though during the Minority of a King, a Cardinal Perron might speak it boldly, or during the Confusions of a Civil War, the whole Sorbonne might declare in Favours of it, yet under such a Reign, and in the present Conjuncture, it was to be denied boldly. And one would not have thought, that at this time a Clement or a Ravilliac would have had no worse Character, but that of zealous Catholicks. So we have now an entire Notion of a zealous Catholick from Mr. Varillas; he does not trouble himself to examine what he says, whether it is true or false, nor will he stick at any Crime, if it may tend to preserve his Religion. And if a Prince goes about to change his Religion, and to depart from the Communion of the

See

See of Rome, he must at first look for a general Revolt, which must end in his Deprivation and Death, and if that fails, there is a Reserve of zealous Catholicks, who will pursue him into every Corner, and never give over till they have sacrificed him to the Interest of their Religion. This is the severest thing that the greatest Enemy to their Church could possibly object to it; and yet Mr. *Varillas* has so little Judgment, as to put it in the Mouth of a Cardinal. But it is but lately that he has got his Pension, and he has not past a long Noviciat, or perhaps he is now too old to learn the Resayings that his Pattern Mr. *Maimbourg* would have taught him, who in such a Reign as this is in *France*, must dress up their Religion as a Doctrine, all made up of Obedience and Submission. But perhaps some had told Mr. *Varillas*, that the late Articles of the Clergy lookt like the beginning of a Separation from the Court of *Rome*, so that he thought it was fit to let the King know his Danger, if he went a step further, either in that matter, or in a Reformation of Religion, of which there has been so much Noise made lately in *France*, though it is visible that this has been set on foot, meerly to deceive those that had a mind to be chosen themselves by the hopes of some Amendments, to make Shipwrack of their Faith and a good Conscience.

48. He makes the Hopes that the Cardinal Bellay had of succeeding in his Negotiation, to be chiefly founded on the Kings being weary of Anne Boleyn, and his becoming in Love with Jane Seimour; and that therefore he concluded that time, and a little Patience might infallibly dispose him to return back again to Queen Katherine.

He makes here strange Discoveries in the matters of Love, since he fancies that the Kings falling in Love with a new Mistress, might dispose him to return to his old and abandoned Queen. The thing is also so falsly timed, that it was two years and almost a half after this, before there appeared any beginnings, either of the Kings dislike of Anne Boleyn; or of his Love to Jane Seimour. But the true account of this last Negotiation of the Cardinal de Bellay is that at Marseilles: The Pope had promised to Francis the First, that if King Henry would submit the matter to him, and send a Proxy to Rome, he would judge in his Favours against the Queen, because he knew that his Cause was just and good, and the Cardinal was sent over to induce the King to make his Submission; but the King would not upon verbal Promises make so great a Step, yet he promised, that if Assurance were sent

sent him, that were formal and binding, he would upon that send a Submission in full form to *Rome*, and when the Cardinal procured these from the Court of *Rome*, the King did send over the Submission. So that Mr. *Varillas* having suppressed the true Account of his Negotiation, he thought he must make it up with somewhat of his own Invention; and as all Liquors drawn out of a musty Barrel taste of the Cask; so there are so many Characters that belong to Mr. *Varillas's* imagination, that it is hard for him to venture on inventing, without discovering, that he has full as little Judgment as he has Sincerity.

*Ibid.*

49. He lays the blame of the slowness of the Courier, on the Care that the Emperor's Ministers had taken, to stop the Passages.

But this was a ridiculous observation: for there being a day set for the Corrier's Return, he hapned only to come two Days after his time, and it being in the Winter, in which the Sea was to be twice past, there is no need to run to any other Speculation for a slowness of two Days in such a Voyage, and at such a Season; but it is often observed of those, that have contracted ill Habits, as lying in particular, that their naughty Customs return upon them, even when there



there is no Provocation lying on them, to tempt them to them; so Mr. *Varillas* has given himself such a Liberty, to interweave his own Fancies with all the Transactions that he relates, that he cannot let the slightest thing pass without bringing in a stroke of his Politicks to adorn it.

50. He says, the Pope having past Sentence against the King, the King did upon that hold a Parliament on the twenty fourth of April, 1534, in which he made himself to be acknowledged supream Head of the Churches of England and Ireland; and got his former Marriage to be condemned, and his second to be confirmed; upon which Queen Katherine died of Grief. P. 288.

In such publick things Mr. *Varillas* should be wiser than to venture on the giving of Dates, for it is at least two to one that he gives them wrong. The Parliament, that past all these Laws, sate down on the Fifteenth of January, and was prorogued on the twenty ninth of March: and Sentence was given against the King at Rome the twenty third of March: for the truth is, the King did not expect sincere dealing from the Court of Rome, and therefore he looking on this last Proposition as a Delusion, to divert him from passing the Acts, that he had projected for this Session, resolved to go on with his Design, knowing that if

if the Pope would grant him that which he desired, it would not be uneasie for him to get those Acts repealed. Queen *Katherine* lived two years after this; so that, tho' the Melancholy, which this gave her, did very likely shorten her Days, yet it was too Poetical, to make her just to dye at the end of that Parliament.

P. 289. 51. He says, that the King upon the first Informations of Anne Boleyn's Disorders, would not believe them; but at last he found such Proofs, as fully convinced him, upon which he waited till he found a fit opportunity, to let his Jealousie break out.

It agrees ill with what he had said before, that King *Henry* was become weary of *Anne Boleyn*, to make him now so uneasie to believe ill of her; for nothing disposes so much to Jealousie, as a Dislike already conceived, which naturally inclines one to think ill of a Person whom he does not love; but it is certain King *Henry* never pretended, that he saw any thing, that was dishonourable in her: and the ridiculous Tale of the Tilling at *Greenwich* was a lye too ill contrived to be again taken up; for the Queen's dropping a Handkerchief, was a favour of too publick Nature, and is not at all credible, considering that she found the King's affections were astray

ing from her. And even that was too slight a matter, to have wrought her ruin, tho' it had been true.

52. *He says, her own Father was one of her Judges, but she got made a cunning Defender, yet she was condemned together with four of her Advocates, and after that she went to mere Death, with more of fierceness, than of a true greatness of Soul, and she died as exactly in all the Maxims of the Stoical Philosophy, as if she had studied them.*

This assertion of her Father's being one of her Judges, has past so current, that I have no reason to charge Mr. Varillas for it, because I my self yielded to the current of Writers; yet having procured a sight of the Original Record of her Process, I found it was a Falsehood, and in the end of my first Volume I had corrected the Error in which I had fallen: so I must at least conclude, that Mr. Varillas never read any History. The Queen had a strange Plea, for there was not one Witness brought against her, so that she was condemned merely upon Testimonies that were brought in writing, which is expressly contrary to our Law. As for her Behaviour at her Death, it was far from being Stoical, for it was rather too cheerful; and the Lieutenant of the Tower, who knew her Behaviour better than any

Person whatsoever, gives a very different Representation of it, for in his Letter to Court he tells of her great Devotion, of her chearfulness and of the Protestations that she made of her Innocence the Morning before she died, when she received the Sacrament, adding, that her Almoner was still with her, and had been with her ever since two a Clock after Midnight. And he also says, that she had much Joy and Pleasure in her Death. And as all this is very far from the Maximes of the Stoical Philosophy, so it seems Mr. *Varillas* understands very little what they were, otherwise, if he had remembered what a Picture he had made of *Anne Boleyn*, he must have known, that the amorous disposition that he had fastned on her, agreed very ill with a Stoical Unconcernedness and equality of Temper. But this he thought was a pretty conclusion of one of the Scenes of his Piece.

And now being as weary of this ungrateful Employment, as any Reader, or as even Mr. *Varillas* himself must needs be, I find my self at great ease, being no more obliged to turn over so very ill a Book. And since in the Survey of one of the shortest of the ten Books, of which that Work consists, I have found so many capital Errors, in most of which there is a Complication of divers Mistakes in the same Period; to how much publick shame must Mr. *Varillas* be exposed,

exposed, if those who are concerned, examine the other Books, as I have done this. I expect no other Justice from himself, but that he will reckon all this Scorn, that such a Discovery must bring upon him, as a meritorious Suffering at the hands of Hereticks, and that he will use it as an Argument to raise his Pension. But it will be a great happiness if others can learn, tho' at his cost, to write with more Truth and greater Caution.

The design of all revealed Religion is, to heighten in us those Seeds of Probity, Vertue and Gentleness, that are in our Nature, and I will not stick to say, that it were better for Mankind, that there were no revealed Religion at all in being, and that human Nature should be left to it self, than that there were such a sort of a revealed Religion received, that overthrows all the Principles of Morality, and that instead of making men sincere, teaches them to be false, and instead of inspiring them with Love and Mercy, inflames them with Rage and Cruelty, and it is likely, that *Mr. Varillas* will easily find out, what that Society is, of which I mean. For he deserves well to be at least one of the Lay-Brothers of the Order, if not to fill up *Mr. Maimbourg's* Room, and then the Order will not lose by the change much of a quality, that has been believed to be almost an essential ingredient in its

Constitution, which gave occasion to a very pleasant Passage, that I was told, fell out at ~~Amiens~~ within ~~the~~ twenty years.

All the Companies of Tradesmen in the Church of ~~Rome~~ choose a Saint for their Patron, and the many new invented Trades have put some Bishops to hard shifts to give proper Saints, which has produced some very ridiculous Patronages, for the Cooks have the Assumption for their Feast, because the two first Syllables *assum* signifies roasted; and when the Needle-makers at ~~Paris~~ asked of the Cardinal Gondi a Patron, he could not easily find out a Saint that had any Relation to their Trade, but he advised them to take All-Saints, for it could not be thought, but ~~that~~ some one or other of the Saints had made Needles; but the Bishop of ~~Amiens~~ gave *Ignatius Loyola* to be the Patron of the Packers, now the Word *emballeur*, as it signifies a Packer, it passes also for a Trapan; so the Packers being satisfied with the Bishop's Nomination, had *Ignatius* upon his Day in a Procession, upon which the Jesuits were offended, to see their Patron pretended to by such a Company of Mechanicks, and sued the Packers upon it, they defended themselves upon the account of their Bishops naming him to them, and when the Bishop was asked Why he had given him for their Patron, he al-  
luding to the other signification of the Word



*emballeur* said, that he had observed that all the *emballeurs* of Europe were under that Saints Patronage. But it is not necessary to infer from hence, that Mr. *Varillas* has a just claim to his protection, for tho' he seems to have very good inclinations, yet he wants the Address that is necessary to recommend him to so refined a Society, and to a perfection in it, that cost Mr. *Maimbourg* a whole Jubilee for a Novitiat; for tho' seven years is enough to learn an ordinary Trade, yet fifty is necessary to furnish a man with a sufficient stock of Impudence for so hardy an Employment.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

**I** Have at last found Cardinal Cajetan's Works, and am now confirmed in that which was only a Conjecture, when I writ upon the thirty first Article, *Pag.* 141. for it is hard even to guess wrong when it is in contradiction to *Mr. Varillas*; and as the Reasons that he put in *Cajetan's* Mouth, had such manifest Characters of his own Ignorance and Hardiness, that I could not so much as doubt of the Imposition, yet I was not positive, till I had taken some pains to find out *Cajetan's* Works, and there I saw my Conjectures were well grounded. That Volume in which he delivers his Opinion in the matter of the Obligation

*Secunda Secunda  
de quaest. 154.  
Art. 9.*

Obligation of the Levitical Law concerning the Degrees of Marriage, was writ long before this Dispute of King Henry's was started; for it is dedicated to Pope Leo the Tenth. And instead of all those Impertinencies, with which *Mr. Varillas* calumniates him, and of which none less ignorant than himself is capable, all that *Sajetan* says, is that whereas *Thomas Aquinas* was of Opinion, that those Degrees were Moral, and of another Mind, but takes a very backward Method, to prove it; yet such was suitable enough to the Blindness of the Time in which he writ; for he proves that they are not moral, only because the Pope dispensed with them, who could not dispence with the Moral Law, and he gives for instance, the Marriage of the King of Portugal, to which he adds these Words, *The present Queen of England had likewise consummated her former Marriage with the late Bro-*

*Anderna quique Regina Anglia consummaverat prius matrimonium cum olim Francisco illius regi Anglia sui mariti.*

*ther*

ther of the King of England her Hus-  
 band. So that *Cajetan* was only dri-  
 ven to this Opinion, that he might  
 justify the Practises of the Court of  
*Rome*. And it appears by what he  
 says concerning it, that it was confi-  
 dered at *Rome* as an undoubted  
 Truth, that the Queens first Marri-  
 age with Prince *Arthur* was con-  
 summated: and so it is sufficient-  
 ly apparent, how impudent *Mr. Va-*  
*rillas* is in the Abstract that he  
 charges on Cardinal *Cajetan's* me-  
 mory, it was far from his way  
 of Reasoning, to talk of Fleets block-  
 ing up *Constantinople*; but *Mr. Varil-*  
*las*, who knows little of the past  
 Time, and fancies that matters went  
 formally as they go now, had perhaps  
 the low Estate in which the Ottoman  
 Empire is at present, or the Bom-  
 barding of *Genoa* in his Eye, when he  
 thought of the sending Fleets against  
*Constantinople* above one hundred and  
 eighty Years ago, but this Specu-  
 lation was as much out of *Caje-*  
*tan's*

tan's way, as it is suitable to *Mr. Farillas*.

Page 250. He says, King *Henry* the Eighth had opposed the Marriage of his Sister to the King of Scotland with so much violence, that it brought on him several Fits of an Ague. But that Marriage being made in *August* 1502. the young Prince was not then eleven years old, and this is too early, even for a Poet to make matters of State to have gone so deep into his thoughts, as that they endangered his Health. But as the Legends of Saints represent them in Extasies, before they have past their Childhood, so *Mr. Farillas* thought it suitable to the rest of his Poem, to represent King *Henry* even in his Infancy, as transported with the Violence of impetuous Passions. But I am afraid I lay too much to his Charge, since I do not believe that he had examined the History of his Life so critically,

as.

as to know even his Age; but it is a sad thing for an ignorant Man not to have a Chronological Table always before him.

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**F I N I S.**

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